

The end point of civilization is assembly-line mass murder

"MODERN CIVILIZATION WAS NOT THE HOLOCAUST'S sufficient condition; it was, however, most certainly its necessary condition. Without it, the Holocaust would be unthinkable. It was the rational world of modern civilization that made the Holocaust thinkable. The Nazi mass murder of the European Jewry was not only the technological achievement of an industrial society, but also the organizational achievement of a bureaucratic society ...

At no point of its long and torturous execution did the Holocaust come in conflict with the principles of rationality. The "Final Solution" did not clash at any stage with the rational pursuit of efficient, optimal goal-implementation. On the contrary, it arose out of a genuinely rational concern, and it was generated by bureaucracy true to its form and purpose."

—Lysenont Bauman,
Modernity and the Holocaust

Green Anarchy

PO Box 11331, Eugene, OR 97440
collective@greenanarchy.org

you have two choices:
give up or *fight back!*

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Around the Corner

Kabul

"I come as a thief in the night, my sword drawn in hand, and as the thief that I am, I say: Give me your purse, give it to me, rogue, or I'll cut your throat! I say give it to the beggars, to the thieves, to the whores, to the pickpockets that are flesh of your flesh and that are quite equal to you, those who are ready to die of hunger in pestilential prisons and filthy dungeons have everything in common, otherwise the scourge of God will cut down all that you have in order to putrefy it and consume it."

—Abiezer Coppe, 17th century England

The fire of anti-aircraft guns illuminates the Kabul night, and yet the war did not erupt either today or on September 11, 2001, the day of the destruction of the Twin Towers in New York and a good part of the Pentagon. This war did not erupt in Afghanistan for the sole, valid reason that it had already erupted some time ago; for years, the entire world has lived in a state of permanent war.

We did not want to see how close Rwanda and Kosovo, Somalia and Bosnia, Algeria and Macedonia were to us. But the Boeings of September 11 have brought Jalalabad, Baghdad and Jericho into the hearts of our cities. Therefore, no one can any longer ignore the planetary gangrene that shows no signs of coming to an end, the chosen heir of modernity, of the technological era.

The industrial system has poisoned the earth, rendering it sterile; the opening of global markets has sent the peasant world into ruin; industrial restructuring has dismantled the old productive apparatus; strategic and geopolitical necessities determined by the control of resources have unleashed unending conflicts — capital, heavy with the immense possibilities that technology is providing to it, has broken up every possibility for autonomy, every past form of community in a large portion of the globe. At our latitudes, this same process has brought forth the precariousness that we have been tasting for the past few years, the abandonment of the old certainties and guarantees to which we were accustomed. Distorting the conditions of life for the exploited, capital has removed practical knowledge, the autonomous capacity to create one's existence for oneself. Where it still survives, the means of subsistence are mere appendages of a technological system that none of the exploited can understand or dream of controlling: no one knows what to do anymore; no one knows how to do anything. Goodbye, then, to every common feeling of the poor, to all collective identification, goodbye to the dream of appropriating this world and driving out its masters.

This is how, over the last twenty years, the planet has increasingly come to resemble a refugee camp. One runs from conflict or from a wasteland, from poverty or from dictatorship; one runs from a world one no longer recognizes. The old ways of life, of being together, have vanished irremediably, and nothing can be seen on the horizon. All that is left is hatred and fear, with more accumulating every day, and it is having difficulty finding an objective, an enemy to fight. This is why — whether hidden or declared — civil war has already broken out, everywhere.

To each their own then, in this macabre exhibition that celebrates the decomposition of an entire planet. Led by their masters, the exploited Yugoslavs' have slaughtered

each other for years, convinced that their next-door neighbors were their enemies. The poor of Somalia and Rwanda have not acted so very differently.

Now the huge powder keg of the Islamic world is exploding. The poor have every intention and utter determination to call in accounts for years of suffering. Deprived of every concrete social connection — apart from precariousness and fear — most superimpose the words of the only common feeling that is proposed to them onto their rage, that of religion. The identification of a collective enemy causes fraternization beyond every boundary and every division; the epic poetry of the struggle against Evil fills History with meaning — it speaks of a future promise and gives a meaning to past tribulations. This is why they wage war against the entire western world and not, instead, against those specifically responsible for their oppression: the masters and governors of the east and the west.

When you read these lines, we don't know what will be happening in Afghanistan or Iraq, we don't know what will be happening in Palestine. The bombs over Kabul precipitate events, increasingly channeling revolt in the Islamic world into the narrow path of religious war. The bombs over Kabul don't just wreak havoc on Afghani civilians, nor do they only cause further surges of refugees, nor do they just set the Middle East on fire: the bombs over Kabul also fall on our heads, finally giving meaning to our fear of the future, putting order into the social precariousness of these times. The hypocritical "anti-terrorist" rhetoric of the western powers terrorizes us and, at the same time, gives a name to our terror; it bestows on us a new enemy against whom we can fight: the exploited of the Islamic world, who are in Afghanistan and in Italy and America, instead of capitalist society, as was beginning to emerge in social conflicts. Therefore, it is not a collision between civilizations that is being fought. It is the realization of the civilization of capital, its ripest fruit — putrefaction, death, war between the poor.

Not a single word of peace makes sense anymore; no mediation is possible when the desperation of the poor breaks through the doors of a world that is falling to pieces. All that we can oppose to the bombs over Kabul is class attack: freeing the hatred that smolders and hurling it against those responsible for our oppression and that of all of the poor of the world. Identifying the common enemy with precision — the masters, the rulers, the technological and productive network — is the first concrete form of solidarity toward the bombed, toward the refugees. Attacking this enemy is the only message of fraternity that we can send to the exploited of the world, the only tool that we have for transforming the war between the poor that is about to set the world on fire into a war of liberation from exploitation and from authority.

— **Strangers Everywhere, Italy**

Welcome to Issue #12 of **Green Anarchy**, our largest issue yet - 32 pages! As we go to print, another war is upon us. We hope that a militant resistance is the response, one that puts the entire system in danger. We hope that the "peace movement", a movement which has shown its ineffectiveness and lack of interest in questioning this system fundamentally, does not attempt to control and stifle resistance. In this issue, which was to have more of a "tactics" focus, we note that a war is always going on, that being the 10,000 year-old nightmare known as civilization. It is a war on life itself, and it will not be stopped by symbolic protest or good intentions. It requires a war in return. It requires a level of seriousness; often lacking in the scene-oriented nature of the anarchist movement. We need to discuss how to proceed tactically and what we are moving towards. We hope these discussions continue to happen, but it is also important to shut up and fight! It is a massive project to undo civilization, requiring a tremendous social and physical transformation. We must deconstruct their institutions and their infrastructure. Good Luck! - **The Green Anarchy Collective**



SPRING FORWARD

Winter is ending in a climate of constant wars, a dying biosphere, an increasingly unhealthy social existence (in fact, a society less and less social and more simply a force-field of the market), and personal desolation.

At the same time, movements of opposition are germinating, joining others that have been going for centuries. Of special interest are those, from Algeria (see p. 19) to Argentina, whose struggles are predicated on a conscious withdrawal of support for the State, *any* State.

In North America (and elsewhere) anarchists were almost non-existent just a few years ago. Now anarchy is certainly the orientation of most who fight for a radical transformation. Even more significant is the swing toward a politics based on indictments of the technological imperative and of civilization itself.

In 2003 even academic journals (usually so reluctant to recognize or discuss disturbing ideas) are paying attention to the primitivist critique/vision. See "The State of Nature" in a recent issue of the U.K. eco journal *Environmental Values*, and "Why Primitivism?" in the U.S. theory quarterly *TELOS*, for example.

As the U.S. Empire plays its last card, the card of force, it's vital to adequately situate our own forces, at home and abroad. To put it negatively, it would be supremely disadvantageous to keep on recycling an approach that has consistently failed, in every time and place. The Left has been a mammoth, universal disaster. To look for a place in the ranks of the Left is to accept that the new movement will go nowhere. Who doesn't realize that something different is urgently needed?

An urbanized dis-embeddedness spreads as megalopolis cities continue to swell, in perfect parallel with the growth of the dis-embodiment of cyber-tech. The "advanced" world hurtles toward its fateful crash like a space shuttle. But leftist holdovers never question why things are headed in this direction, or seek the underlying causes of this suicidal trajectory.

Who besides primitivists (and indigenous insurgents) is truly anti-globalization? Does anyone on the left oppose the industrial-technological Order? To fail to do so is to remain, fundamentally, on the side of capital, coercion, and their universalization. Those are the dynamics that consign people everywhere to the onerous servitude of reproducing the Machine, while pushing all of nature to extinction.

Some go halfway. They grasp the depth of the crisis and the unprecedented quality of what is at stake for our movement. They make very occasional and vague references to civilization, patriarchy, domestication, division of labor, etc. But they seem content to continue with the old patterns. No amount of discourse in any new context will uncover root causes or result in inspiring new directions, unless it strives to do so. We need to see through and past worn-out alternatives, instead of letting them define us.

The pall cast by 9/11/01 is lifting. A new season of contestation is before us. . .

... **Let's show what we can do!**

GREEN ANARCHY #12 - SPRING '03



Scrolls of Testimony



“**Fear stalks the streets.** Promises that nothing evil will befall if the ghetto refrains from undesirable acts. But who knows what is desirable, if we are all — righteous and wicked alike — to suffer the same fate... something seems about to happen. Something is imminent. Something significant hangs over our heads. Hiding places are being prepared. Is it possible? I strive to show the neighbors I am not worried about the future. Really, trouble is enough now... Without noticing you adjust to the mood of your surroundings, you breathe in shock from the air. People’s faces look grim. Eyes look out upon vacancy. Each man inspires dread in his neighbor. I have had enough of enduring my fate. When I am alone there is no trace of fear in my heart. Complete confidence reigns. Is it complacency? No. I want to see clearly, and above all to tell the Jews beyond the ghetto what is happening. How does the Jewish soul respond on whom the heavy hand has not rested? What are the consequences for the life of the community? Will a heavy sledgehammer subdue steel?”

- Zelig Kalmanovitch, July 13, 1943, in the Vilna ghetto

January 1, 1942, Vilna, in the ghetto. Silence again in the room. A silence that no one breaks. Yet tears glint in dozens of young eyes. And a wave of feelings washes over their hearts. And fists clench. Suddenly a voice breaks out from the corner. Hushed and slow. The song grips everyone. Freedom is calling to their hearts and unites them all. No longer is one alone in feeling or thinking, for if one sings, sings with all his might, with all his heart, it is as though he filled the words with his own blood: “To stretch out your neck to the sword—no, never!”

It seems our song will shake the ghetto walls.”

—Ruschka Korchak-Marle, *Flames in the Ashes*

Dawn came on us like a betrayer; it seemed as though the new sun rose as an ally of our enemies to assist in our destruction. The different emotions that overcame us, of resignation, of futile rebellion, of fear, or despair, now joined together after a sleepless night in a collective, uncontrolled panic. The time for meditation, the time for decision was over, and all reason dissolved into a tumult, across which flashed the happy memories of our homes, still so near in time and space, as painful as the thrusts of a sword.”

—Primo Levi, *Survival in Auschwitz*

“**Scrolls of Testimony**” is a moving chronicle of the Jewish Holocaust compiled by Abba Kovner, who struggled with other Jewish resistance fighters against the Nazis in Vilna and the woods of Lithuania. Kovner’s testimony is interwoven with others’ eyewitness accounts, diary entries, poems, and even last wills and testaments.

The First Manifesto

“Let us not go as sheep to the slaughter.
Jewish youth, do not place your trust in those who are leading you astray. Of the 80,000 Jews who lived in the “Jerusalem of Lithuania,” only 20,000 remain alive. Before our very eyes our parents, our brothers, and our sisters have been torn from us.
Where are the hundreds of Jews who were taken to work by the Lithuanian press gangs?
Where are the naked women, the children, who were taken from us on the horrible night of provocation?
Where are our brothers from Ghetto Number Two?
Whoever is taken out through the ghetto gates never returns. Every Gestapo route leads to Ponar. And Ponar is death.*
Hesitators! Throw away your illusions: Your children, your wives, and your husbands are no longer alive.
Ponar is not the name of a concentration camp. Everyone there has been shot.
Hitler is scheming to destroy all the Jews of Europe. It has been Lithuanian Jewry’s ill fate to be first in line.
Let us not go as sheep to the slaughter.
We may be weak and unprotected but the only answer to a murderer is self-defense!
Brothers! It is better to fall fighting as free men than to live at the mercy of murderers.
We will defend ourselves! To our last breath we will defend ourselves!”

—January 1, 1942, Vilna, in the ghetto

* Ponar was an execution site where Jews from Vilna were murdered.



“*Arbeit Macht Frei*” (German): “*Work makes you free*”
The cynical slogan of deceit that flew above the gate of the Auschwitz death camp.

**Someone will say it lasts but a year,
Three times four months;
I say those are days and nights
That are endless.
Every day — twelve hours,
Every night — seven hundred minutes,
Every minute — sixty seconds,
Each second with its load of pain and suffering.**

—Written in Polish by an unknown Jewish girl found at Auschwitz

The Women Of The West Bank

It is just past midnight and the woman in black is there again, standing alone in the outskirts of the village. As she starts to hurl stones at the soldiers’ jeep, flashlights break the night sky and there is a warning burst of gunfire. The woman vanishes. Ten minutes later, when all is in darkness, she reappears and the stones fly again. She keeps it up for two hours. It is the second night she has performed her solitary demonstration. No one in the village knows who she is or where she comes from.

Civilization is a Death Camp, Resistance is Life

This winter marks the 60th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, the largest Jewish resistance to the Nazi terror to occur. The survival rate among Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto was significantly higher than in most Jewish ghettos in eastern Europe. This stands as a clear reminder, that despite the odds and the brutality of one’s oppressors, physical resistance can be the only significant method of survival. This is not to say that other more passive, but clever, tactics cannot stall or thwart immediate circumstances, but for a meaningful shift in the conditions of horror, direct physical insurgency is necessary. This reality has always been the case. It can be applied to and learned from every liberation movement in history, from slave revolts to the current Palestinian Intifada.

As the U.S. continues on with their plans for “Full Spectrum Domination”, we must not wait until we are on the trains or in the camps before we begin to resist. Their goals are clear, and in fact, are consistent not only with the hegemony of U.S. power, but with civilization itself. The process of domination and control is reaching its ultimate state, and as we look into the face of this malignancy and of the possible end of all life, we must recognize that we have nothing to lose and our lives to save. Protests, rallies, and the petitioning of those who want us dead is not only futile, but naive and absurd. We must resist at all costs, even in the face of certain death, because unless we do, certain death is the best we can hope for. It is important to remember, however, that while we fight against those in power, we must also fight against power itself. Power and control are what civilization is built upon, from individuals to institutions. There are too many examples of an oppressed people becoming the oppressor, of which the state of Israel is only one current example. Unless we challenge power fundamentally, the cycle of violence and domination will always be present, and tear at the fabric of life. As we create a resistance to the current, and likely most deadly, power structure this planet has ever known, we must do so by not only challenging the contemporary faces of civilization, but all that it is built upon.

The blue sky seems to be filled with flying objects—stones and rocks, some catapulted by an expert eleven-year-old, others thrown a few feeble feet by a toddler. Tires are set alight, their acrid fumes burning the eyes and nose. The soldiers retaliate in a rush of gunfire and tear gas. Now everyone is running, but a boy, perhaps ten years old, is caught. His screams rend the air as the soldiers’ wooden truncheon smashes into his back and legs. From nowhere, a crowd of women come running like the Furies at the soldier who has the boy. They surround the pair, and the soldier, frightened, ceases beating. He tries to ward off the women who are all screaming that this is their son. In the confusion one grabs the boy and hurries him away.

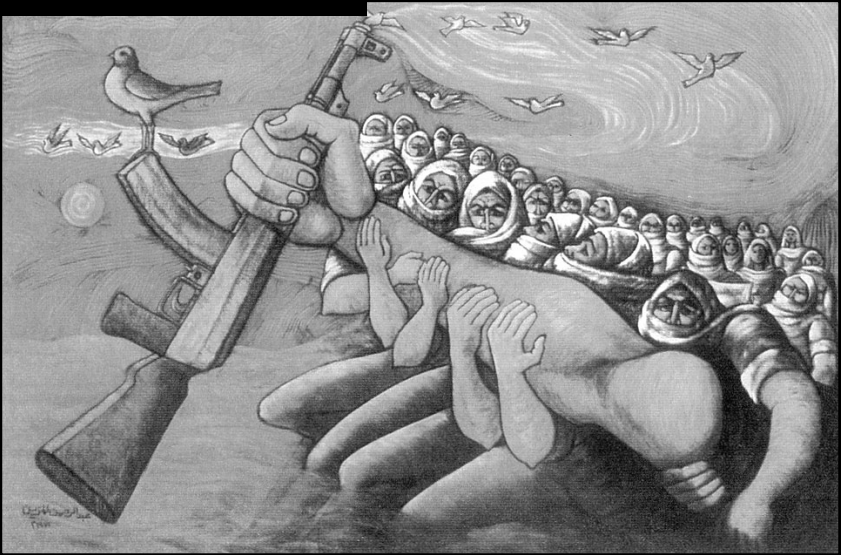
There is gunfire and shouting in the camp — the soldiers are here. The mother kicks her eight-year-old son, sitting absorbed in the exchange between his sister and the interpreter. The boy jumps up, red-faced, and runs out. The interpreter explains: “She said ‘Shame, get out and fight with your brothers and sisters.’”

This is the Intifada, the uprising by Palestinians begun in October 1987 against Israeli military occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. One might be forgiven for thinking that the stones and lumps of rock, which constitute the main arsenal of the fighters, would not qualify as weapons of terror — especially against a well armed and trained army. The Israeli soldiers, however, have decreed that anyone who throws a stone at an Israeli soldier is threatening state security.

The Intifada was temporarily suspended at the outbreak of the war against Iraq, when Palestinians living in the occupied territories were placed under almost continuous curfew. At the end of the war, however, the Intifada was reborn with a vengeance.

When I visited in the summer of 1989, it had been in full swing: everyone appeared to be involved, from stone-throwing toddlers to eight-year-olds, but none more so than the women. “They are worth ten men,” said a camp commander with a rueful grin.

Young girls constituted at least half the *shebab* — the army of young people that hurled missiles at the soldiers. They were experts in tactics of street warfare and were treated as equals by the boys. In the Gaza Strip, where the unrest began and where the pure white sand was blackened by fire, girls and boys, eight years old and upwards, erected roadblocks of burned out cars, oil drums, and debris from the camps before a demonstration began. Many were dressed from top to toe in black, their eyes gleaming through slits in their hoods. Their weapons were sticks and stones, slingshots and bicycle chains. These small black figures called themselves the “Ninja.”





“The Intifada is my son.”

Palestinian women are well aware that they are on the frontline in every aspect of the Intifada. As the insurrection developed, and tens of thousands of men were detained by the military, women took over the fight. With their men gone, there was no one else to do it, but it was more than that. The women became aware of their importance, and they were no longer prepared to be bystanders or widows. Participation was all.

They recognized, even as they fought, the similarities between themselves and the Algerian women in the war against French colonial rule in 1958-1964. Then, Muslim women also carried weaponry under their clothing and sacrificed their freedom and lives for the cause. After independence was won, however, the men made sure they went back into their home in the traditional role of Muslim wife — even to the extent of being forced to wear the veil once more.

Palestinian women are thoroughly determined that they will not meet the same fate once the battle is won... They have the Algerian example, and they know their men. They are not prepared to be soldiers now and second-class citizens later. Their battle for independence as women has to be fought alongside with the Intifada, while they are in a position of power.

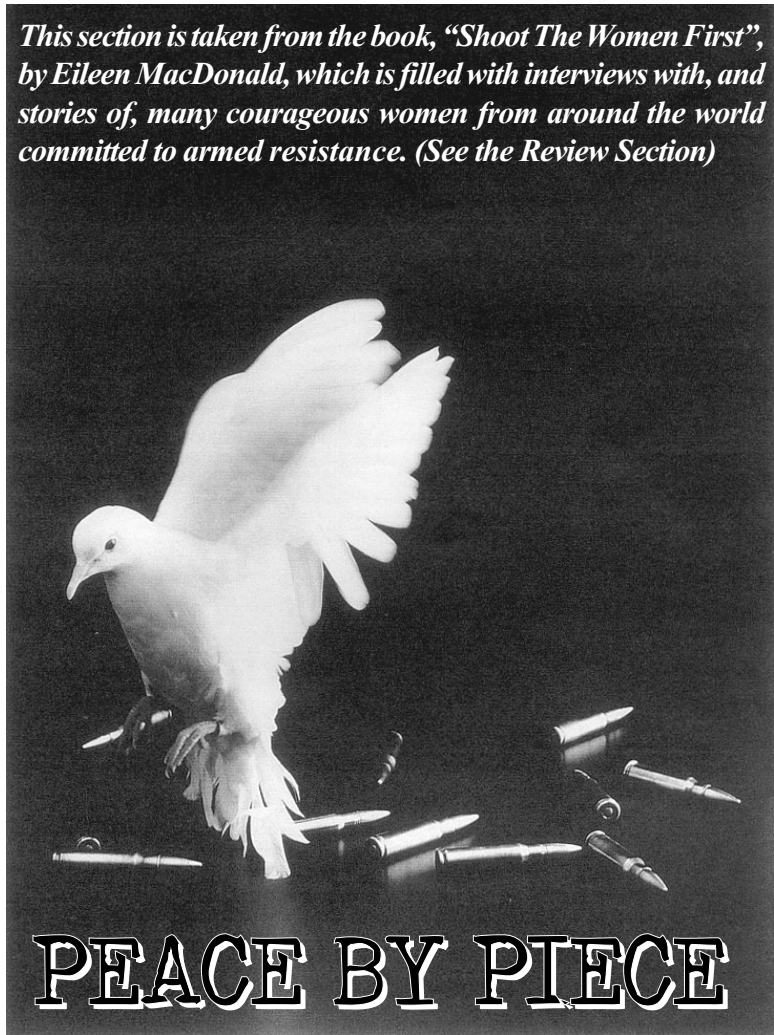
On general strike days, which occurred at least twice a week, the girls joined the boys in stoning anyone driving a car or attempting to work. The *shebab* was a fearful force, the girls possessing as deadly an aim with the stone or Molotov as their brothers.

Fatin, a blond, blue-eyed ten year old from Al Jalazoun camp near Ramallah on the West Bank mimed a hand-to-hand struggle she had with a soldier the previous day. Her family had been given ten minutes to evacuate their home before it was demolished as a “terrorist stronghold.” Beside Fatin stood her twenty-year-old sister, holding up X-rays, which showed two bullets lodged in her chest — the result of being outside during a demonstration.

What of men, I asked her (Nadia). After all, there were thousands who had not been detained. She chuckled, “Men, I am afraid to say, by about thirty-five, are out of it: they get scared and they have responsibilities. They like to talk politics, but they are bad at action.” Other Palestinian women said the same thing: that men liked to sit and talk and think they ruled the roost, but in these days it was the women who acted.

Nadia gave me examples of women’s bravery. One old woman went out with the *shebab* on every demonstration carrying a big basket full of stones, which she handed out to the children. Another old woman from Dehaisha camp near Bethlehem, had had her home demolished because she sat on the roof hurling slabs at soldiers. Then there was the tale of a woman in the same camp who saved a four-year-old boy as he fled from the soldiers. The child ran into her house, and she gathered him under her dress. When the soldiers burst in to search for the boy, all they found was a woman sitting on the floor.

“You see, everyone does what he or she can. It is our way of life, and until we have won, there is nothing else that is important.”



This section is taken from the book, “Shoot The Women First”, by Eileen MacDonald, which is filled with interviews with, and stories of, many courageous women from around the world committed to armed resistance. (See the Review Section)

Destroy Civilization?

I assume that all anarchists would agree that we want to put an end to every institution, structure and system of domination and exploitation. The rejection of these things is, after all, the basic meaning of anarchism. Most would also agree that among these institutions, structures and systems are the state, private property, religion, law, the patriarchal family, class rule...

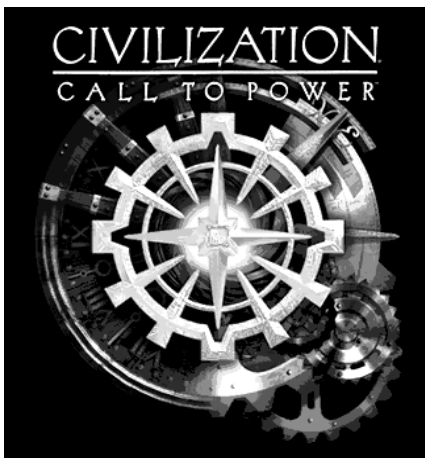
In recent years, some anarchists have begun to talk in what appears to be broader terms of the need to destroy civilization. This has, of course, led to a reaction in defense of civilization. Unfortunately, this debate has been mainly acrimonious, consisting of name-calling, mutual misrepresentation and territorial disputes over the ownership of the label “anarchist,” rather than real argumentation. One of the problems (although probably not the most significant one) behind this incapacity to really debate the question is that very few individuals on either side of it have tried to explain precisely what they mean by “civilization.” Instead, it remains a nebulous term that represents all that is bad for one side and all that is good for the other.

In order to develop a more precise definition of civilization, it is worthwhile to examine when and where civilization is said to have arisen and what differences actually exist between societies currently defined as civilized and those not considered as such. Such an examination shows that the existence of animal husbandry, agriculture, a sedentary way of life, a refinement of arts, crafts and techniques or even the simple forms of metal smelting are not enough to define a society as civilized (though they do comprise the necessary material basis for the rise of civilization). Rather what arose about ten thousand years ago in the “cradle of civilization” and what is shared by all civilized societies but lacking in all those that are defined as “uncivilized” is a network of institutions, structures and systems that impose social relationships of domination and exploitation. In other words, a civilized society is one comprised of the state, property, religion (or in modern societies, ideology), law, the patriarchal family, commodity exchange, class rule — everything we, as anarchists, oppose.

To put it another way, what all civilized societies have in common is the systematic expropriation of the lives of those who live within them. The critique of domestication (with any moral underpinnings removed) provides a useful tool for understanding this. What is domestication if not the expropriation of the life of a being by another who then exploits that life for her or his own purposes? Civilization is thus the systematic and institutionalized domestication of the vast majority of people in a society by the few who are served by the network of domination.

Thus the revolutionary process of reappropriating our lives is a process of decivilizing ourselves, of throwing off our domestication. This does not mean becoming passive slaves to our instincts (if such even exist) or dissolving ourselves in the alleged oneness of Nature. It means becoming uncontrollable individuals capable of making and carrying out the decisions that affect our lives in free association with others.

It should be obvious from this that I reject any models for an ideal world (and distrust any vision that is too perfect — I suspect that there the individual has disappeared). Since the essence of a revolutionary struggle fitting with anarchist ideals is the reappropriation of life by individuals who have been exploited, dispossessed and dominated, it would be in the process of this struggle that people would decide how they want to create their lives, what in this world they feel they can appropriate



to increase their freedom, open possibilities and add to their enjoyment, and what would only be a burden stealing from the joy of life and undermining possibilities for expanding freedom. I don’t see how such a process could possibly create any single, universal social model. Rather, innumerable experiments varying drastically from place to place and changing over time would reflect the singular needs, desires, dreams and aspirations of each and every individual.

So, indeed, let’s destroy civilization, this network of domination, but not in the name of any model, of an ascetic morality of sacrifice or of a mystical disintegration into a supposedly unalienated oneness with Nature, but rather because the reappropriation of our lives, the collective recreation of ourselves as uncontrollable and unique individuals is the destruction of civilization — of this ten thousand year old network of domination that has spread itself over the globe — and the initiation of a marvelous and frightening journey into the unknown that is freedom.

- Willful Disobedience

from “the Garden of Peculiarities”

by Jesus Sepulveda
Number 9

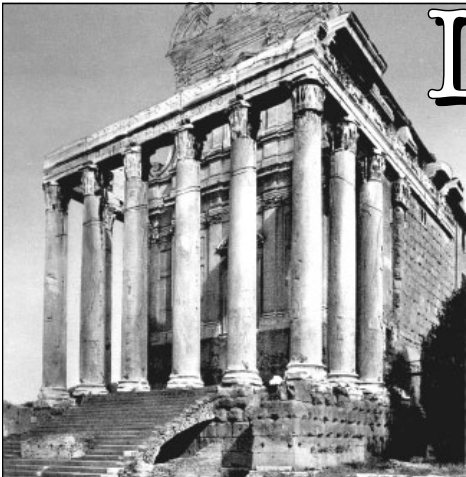


The state exists because it territorializes itself. It builds itself through colonizing territorial expansion. This expansion comes about through the forced deterritorialization of the original inhabitants from the lands that the state has appropriated. This appropriation implies the mobilization of military force that the state can use to expand or maintain its territory. This has meant wars and genocide. But the state also has its experts to write history; they turn the facts around so as to justify their atrocities and obligate following generations to repeat the meaningless official litanies written by the experts.

Education, then, is nothing more than the institutionalization of disciplines of training and domestication, a training ground where children and adolescents are taught to perpetuate the dominant system. There they learn to give way to the dominant order and they begin the process of reification. On these parade grounds or schools of social indoctrination, the ideology that legitimates the system is reproduced. New members of society internalize a false consciousness which inflates in them like a lung until everyone repeats with more or less success the same discourse. Its idea is that everyone says, dreams, and thinks that this is the best of all possible worlds. And if it has its faults, it doesn’t matter because it can be made better. Thinking anything different is to be part of the anarchistic ranks, to go crazy or to call to insurrection. According to Adorno, standardization obliges the subject to choose between mercantilization or schizophrenia. There is no exit from this binary mold.

In this society, preferring the garden to cement is seen with distrust. And depending on the political wind of the moment, this preference can cost one’s life. When the system breaks and sheep escape from the flock, prisons grow with criminal efficiency, as well as coups d’etat, raids, tear gas, repressive measures, war, etc. While all of this is occurring, the state reinforces its propaganda through radio, television and newspapers. And so the state materializes itself in the minds of individuals.

Nation states assemble their repressive apparatus—police and military—to protect the transnationals and expand a lifestyle of standardization based on the reduction of humans into economic units of production and consumption. With this, a new kind of territorialization and labor slavery is produced. The technology and the goods that the global minority dominant class uses are manufactured in sweatshops that operate with the logic of exploitation. Schools and factories are centers of control imposed by the state. In order to abolish the state, it is necessary to abolish factories and schools. The authoritarianism that the civilized order reproduces in these institutions is responsible for ethnic cleansing, political genocide, and social exploitation. In order to construct a world without hierarchies, jails, propaganda, or coups, it is necessary to sweep away the state. And it depends on us to wipe it off the face of the earth.



“One day shall come of haughty Rome, a deserved blow from heaven. You will be plundered and destroyed and with wailing and gnashing of teeth you will pay.”
- Cybeline Oracle

In these times I think it is important and inspiring to remember the fall of Rome, as parable and as analogy. Rome is remembered as the greatest of ancient civilizations. Its accomplishments are celebrated just as the so-called advancements of this civilization, at the expense of the world, are trumpeted. From the beginning, Rome had built its empire by conquest and force of arms. It was ruthless in its lust for power, and “insatiable in its ambition”, defining qualities characteristic of all civilization itself. Rome was an imperialist empire, as they all are, that controlled a great part of their known world and expanded continually through conquest and colonization. The Empire amassed huge armies of slaves needed to build up the monster and on whose backs the empire was founded. But the enslaved and humiliated barbarians were tired of it. As Rome waged its wars of conquest, rebellion plagued the empire and demanded constant repression.

I do not though make a distinction between different or separate civilizations. There are different cultures and societies, different variations, but there is only one civilization. All the civilized societies for the last 10,000 years are all part of the same monster, the same pathology. I only use Rome as an example. For at the time it was the most egregious example of civilization’s destructiveness.

Just like the US, Rome engendered extreme contempt from its neighbors and colonies. At the height of its imperial reign, dislike for the Roman Empire also reached a peak. Resentment festered on the periphery. Not only were people degraded by Rome’s colonization of them, but also Roman officials’ flaunting of their wealth made them contemptuous and jealous. Romans always reveled in grandiose displays of power. They rode gold plated chariots through the streets with gold woven into their clothes attending lavish parties celebrating their excess. Americans drive around in their SUV’s with diamond rings and fancy clothes, all created from the slave labor of their colonies. Americans conquer and slaughter people all over the world, then redirect all their riches and resources back to US corporations. This leaves the people unable to supply themselves with what is left and unable to live self-sufficiently, forcing them to depend on the colonizer. And we wonder why we are hated? We, the Romans, are living in plenty off the blood soaked stolen riches of our conquered and colonized victims.

“I have no more faith than a grain of mustard in the future of ‘civilization’. I know now it is doomed to destruction—probably before very long. What a joy it is to think of, and how often it consoles me to think of barbarism once more flooding the world, with real feelings and passions—however rudimentary—taking the place of our wretched hypocrisies.”
- William Morris

Lessons from the Fall of Rome

It should be no surprise that the local Roman viceroy parading his riches through the streets would earn the hatred directed against the rulers and governors and all they represent. A later consequence of this was that the civilized rulers of peoples that Rome had colonized grew jealous and demanded that Rome share its wealth. This led several such non-Roman rulers, referred to as barbarians, yet as civilized as any Roman governor, to revolt and attack Rome demanding a portion of its spoils. Coincidentally, this was the situation with the famous barbarian group that sacked Rome in 410 AD that supposedly started the decline of the Roman Empire. The leader of that Gaelic tribe, Alaric, was an intellectual, a thoroughly civilized man who was well read in all the classical works, who spoke Latin fluently and was a great respecter of Rome.



He enjoyed the respect of Roman officials and was thought of as noble by them. He thought he and his people deserved a slice of the pie of Rome’s riches. So he ordered his armies to attack Rome from the north and surprisingly met with little to no resistance. His forces were even welcomed at times, as the poor of the Roman cities/colonies sided with him and his armies hoping for a reprieve from the oppressive Roman order. He made it all the way to the city of Rome itself and demanded huge ransoms of gold, silver, crops, and iron when his protests were not heard. His forces were held at bay outside the defended city until slaves within Rome opened up the gates and let the barbarians in.

It was inconceivable that the very city of Rome itself in the heart of the empire could be attacked and destroyed. Romans thought the capital untouchable and never thought they might be vulnerable or that they could be victims themselves. It awakened Rome to the threat its cruel policies created. This attack was an omen of catastrophe.

As Rome grew so too did the rest of the world’s hatred of it. Just as Americans do now, Rome faced increasing hostility from the rest of the world it sought to dominate. Before September 11th, anti-US sentiment was at an all time high. With America’s new fumbling puppet ruler, son of a former dictator hated for his own bloody rule, America’s arrogance and brutality were brought to the surface and made easier to see for what it is.

With America’s blocking of the Kyoto protocol, which was a world wide attempt to slow down the industrial emissions of greenhouse gasses, (a pitiful liberal reform attempt at using legislation techniques to stop industrialism’s destruction of the planet) world wide frustration directed at the Imperial entity that is driving life on earth towards death rose to a high public pitch. US covert actions and backing of ruthless dictators has earned us the reputation of brutal overlords, and caused great disliking of America for years. Likewise, Rome’s military conquests built up enemies of Rome that grew in ranks as the campaigns of conquest continued. These people fought back, waging more and more attacks on the evil empire. Resistance to Rome became more successful when barbarian soldiers who were forced to serve in the Roman army returned to their home and used their new military knowledge against the colonizer they learned it from.

Nature itself seemed to be conspiring against the empire.

Other things of note brought Rome to its demise. Rome had other bills to pay. The chickens *did* come home to roost in Rome in the various attacks and raids, revolts, uprisings and power struggles. But they also came from nature, which Rome had overtaxed beyond its limits. It was time for Rome to pay up on the debt it had borrowed from the ecosystem. The aqueducts that are acclaimed as so technologically advanced, that earned Rome such high respect from modern civilization and that set Rome apart in history; drained the water reservoirs that once quenched its diabolical thirst. These water sources that allowed so many to live sedentary lives so unnaturally in huge numbers, crowded into cities made of dried earth, eventually ran out and stopped feeding this crazed juggernaut. The natural aquifers had been drained, and the ecosystems that thrived in them destroyed.

The roads Rome are famous for destroyed ecosystems across its empire. These roads allowed for easy transport of military personnel, trade, and the everyday managing of the empire. They separated intact ecosystems, disrupted animals’ territories, and created artificial boundaries that affected essential animal behavior. Furthermore, they created water runoff problems and erosion. The roads, which allowed Rome to grow and maintain its empire, contributed to an ecological disaster.



collapse

The needle moves inside the vein, piercing the skin, sliding into the artery.

The blood flows around it, and is extracted into the tube filled with the boiled down mixture: part escapism, part desperation, the mixture of misery and loneliness, the search.

The finger pushes down, releasing full force into the lifeblood what takes the place of broken dreams.

His eyes roll back, the relief is moving through her body, the lust for life subsides this is the death of dreams.

Around this body, this frightened and confused soul, is a box: four walls, a ceiling and a floor.

The box is a box within a box. The whole world of this soul is enslaved: without bars, without knowing.

But the soul knows something is there. Bars surround, and the soul knows without knowing.

The soul searches for a way out, But is misguided by what it is told, buried in the Future of the box builders.

I can't say I know what he felt, as she injected a syringe full of lost hope into the desperate veins, of the tattered soul.

I know the box, I know the builders, I know what the soul was told.

for the message is everywhere. It seeks to destroy dreams, hopes: possibilities.

The boiled down
mixture of crying,
fear, confusion, lust,
desire, angst, and love,
is just what
happens to those who
don't share the
(implanted)

"Future"
- in the eyes of the builders.

The message is built into
our minds,
from birth
to death.

To the builders,
death is to be eliminated.
The builders build
so that they will exist
forever.

It pushes down
the dreamers,
so that they will
build for the builders.
It destroys the dreamers
by creating "Forever".

The builders think
only of "Futures."
They fear life,
because life has
beauty in the moment,
and all moments end.

The dreamers dream,
but the dream is not
separate. It is
lived.

The dreamers find a
world of possibilities,
and exist as is.

The builders have
lost their ability
to dream, and so
they search the
"Universe" for
"Answers".

The search does not
end at thought, but
is carried out.
It builds space ships,
satellites, pyramids,
Twin Towers.

He is in another
world now, searching
through a field of
pills, sitcoms,
ten-point programs, school,
excess. . .

She is hoping
to find something,
anything,
to believe in,
because, to them, there is
nothing left in
this world.

(now covered
with concrete,
towers, steel,
plastic. . . .)

The escape flows
through the veins,
the sacred body,
soul,
has been violated.

The eyes roll back,
the body convulses,
desperately
seeking
something.

The stories
he was once told, moved
through healthy forests,
(thicker than imaginable)
under a sky full of passenger pigeons,
surrounded by thick herds of bison,
air that never hurt to breathe,
water that didn't destroy
your insides as you drank it.

To her, this world
is only a tale,
a Disney movie at best.

He was never that hunter
and she never that gatherer.
Their world is much smaller
than that.

The world they had
heard of, read about,
dreamed of:
that place of
possibilities and life
is not here for them.

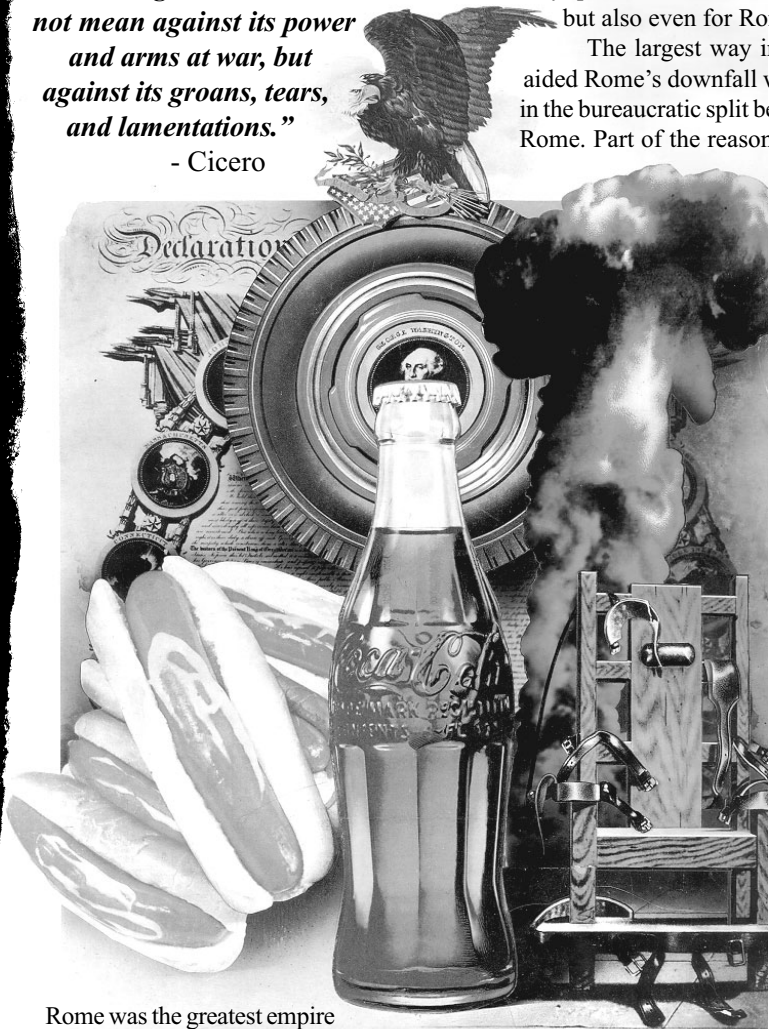
The builders have
convinced them
that there is no place for
dreams in "real life."

Truly, the heritage of Rome is a desert. It clear-cut the forests in its colonies just as surely as it did its own. Civilization's touch destroys nature wherever it goes. Over-hunting, and agricultural attempts to feed the massive population depleted the "natural resources" (a civilized word for plants and animals). Soil erosion and salinization by agriculture sometimes led to the inability to feed the population, and it contributed in the long run to the collapse of the empire.

**"Words cannot express how bitterly
we will be hated among foreign
nations because of the outrageous
conduct of the men we have sent to
govern them. All the provinces are
complaining about Roman greed and
Roman injustice. I remind you
gentlemen, Rome will not be able to
hold out against the whole world. I do
not mean against its power**

**and arms at war, but
against its groans, tears,
and lamentations."**

- Cicero



Rome was the greatest empire in the world because it was ever expanding. It grew to encompass all the land bordering the Mediterranean Sea, into Africa, the Middle East as far as the Caspian Sea. It extended far to the north throughout France and deeply into England. But the empire overextended itself. It grew so big that even with its many tentacles it could not maintain control. The empire had become unmanageable. Its armies could not be everywhere at once, and took too long crossing the empire when needed. It became impossible to maintain order so far from the capital.

Rome, as a large and complex society, had a huge bureaucracy. Bureaucracies reproduce themselves, and are ever growing. Eventually, the bureaucracy grew so large that it became unmanageable, it grew top heavy, and crumbled under its own weight. Getting food and provisions to the armies on the frontier became harder as the frontiers expanded further out. Orders took too long to get to the far reaches of the empire and direct control became impossible. When Rome fell it was waging wars on all sides, defending all its borders. On a parallel note, we are seeing a rise in attacks directed against America and its symbols and monuments of power.

I think something that should not go unnoted are the slave revolts within Rome. Rome's slaves outnumbered its citizens two to one in some places, so great attention was needed to keep them in control. Slaves were feared by the aristocracy who knew that if given the chance, many would slit their throats while they slept. The truth in the situation was expressed in the old proverb "Every slave is an enemy", showing that the Romans knew they were despised by their slaves.

Of course, a huge factor in the fall of Rome was the struggle for power. Late in Rome's history the Empire split between the East and the West. It is worth noting that it was in one of these struggles for power that emperor Constantine reportedly saw the vision of a burning cross in the sky with the words "In hoc signo vinces", "By this sign you will conquer". He had the cross painted on the shield of his army and was victorious against his rival for power in a bloody battle outside of Rome. This was the first in a long line of violent battles fought for power under that sign, the cross. When his armies were victorious he converted to Christianity and declared it a legal religion in Rome, giving it the legitimacy and boost it needed to rise to power and become the agent of destruction that it did. Before this, Christianity was a small unpopular cult. This move to make it legally accepted not only spelled disaster for the world and its future, but also even for Rome itself.

The largest way in which Christianity aided Rome's downfall was the role it played in the bureaucratic split between East and West Rome. Part of the reason Constantine moved the capital to Constantinople was because Rome was still mostly Pagan and not Christian. The division into two empires, really undertaken by Dioclesian, was an attempt to stop the decline of the empire. The split quickened the collapse because it created a large number of additional government officials and bureaucracies. These added to the heavy inflation weighing on the empire. This was possibly the only time Christian missionaries and zealots hurt civilization instead of expanding it.

It wasn't long until Christianity produced the first ascetic monks, which should be no surprise since in this new religion suffering was a mark of holiness. They practiced self-deprivation and a rigid renunciation of desire. It effectively tamed desire and instinct. Christianity directly embodied the values of civilization. Constantine later used Christianity to unify the empire because it preached the values that civilization is based on: obedience, discipline, and monotheism. Constantine ruled with absolute power and saw himself as the thirteenth apostle. Soon there were over sixty decrees outlawing other religions and Christianity took no time developing its oppressive patterns for years to come.

The Western Roman Empire centered at the original capital at Rome fell first in 476 AD, followed a few centuries later by the Rome of the East, which degenerated and then rose again as part of the Byzantine Empire.

**While stands the
Coliseum,
Rome shall stand;
When falls the
Coliseum,
Rome shall fall;
And when Rome falls
- the World.**

- Lord Byron

With their world collapsing into chaos, the Roman's thirst for macabre distraction grew. Rome celebrated its anniversary and its victory over Romania in the most fitting way, with 117 continuous bloody days of ongoing gladiatorial games in the Coliseum in which 9,000 gladiators died and countless more animals were slaughtered, while barbarians hammered at the walls and rebellion broke out in the provinces. In fact, distraction was a key feature of Rome. Intent to distract themselves, most Romans "did not notice the social fabric shredding around them". The Roman rulers learned early on the value of appeasement in controlling the people, and in keeping them distracted. Rome's most effective means of doing this was "Bread and Circuses". The "Bread and Circuses" was the government giving the people what they wanted, to keep them happy. The Roman government gave out food to the poor to keep them content, a daily ration of food and small sum of money, and provided lavish entertainment to divert their attention.

The great gladiatorial games of Rome were part of Rome's methods of distracting and controlling the people. Even the poorest people could at least look down on those punished in the Coliseum. These games and competitions served the purpose that T.V. does now. Most emperors spent huge sums of public money keeping the people amused. The Coliseum itself was built as a gift to the people, and admittance was free. It was an attempt to buy off the people. The events were ultra spectacles. The gladiators, from the word *gladius* for sword, went to great lengths to keep the crowd entertained and distracted. When the gladiators fought they made it as dramatic as they could to increase the spectacle, making large swings with their weapons when they weren't necessary.

It is easy to see how important the games were to the rulers; there was an amphitheater in every Roman town. In fact, an amphitheater was seen as essential to every roman city, along with a market place, theater, and courthouse. The word coliseum itself comes from the word Colossus. The famous arena was actually named the Coliseum during the Middle Ages, after the colossal statue of Nero that stood beside it. But its real name at the time of its use was the Flavian Amphitheatre.

The Coliseum held 60,000 spectators, more than most of the modern stadiums. The amphitheater in the city of Pompeii held 5 times more people than its total population. But the immense popularity of this form of distraction is best exemplified by the size of the Circus Maximus. The Circus Maximus was the circular racing arena, also in the city of Rome, where the chariot races took place. It held 200,000 spectators!

(continued on next page)



The builders buried their chance,
long ago.
They started building by
pushing tools into the soil
(the flesh of the earth)
manipulating, altering,
taming. . .

The builders came from
millions of years
of being an evolutionary,
ecological being:
a part of the community of life
(dreamers).

It's hard to say
why they began digging,
pushing, developing,
owning,
enslaving. . .
but we are left with
this, their legacy,
their future.

The search for life, dreams,
ends in tragedy,
only to be mocked
by the professional destroyers.

They make movies, sitcoms,
internets, entertainment.

Our pain, our death,
is all potential profit.
We bond to share an
experience, *this* experience.
We desperately seek
each other,
and with all the high tech
gadgets,
we grab nothing but emptiness
with the mild sense of hope. . .

The eyes roll back,
the fists move,
the anger is unleashed.
the stranger has just left
the scene, leaving only a
body count. . .
the professionals are left
to piece together
the "real life" tragedy.

they are only a part of the problem.

The builders start a new thing:
work.
They are now engineers, leaders,
politicians, bosses, owners.
To build an efficient future,
they must dedicate themselves full time.

They start thinking further ahead,
"If not now, when?"
anything is possible, so they will do
anything
to ensure that they aren't affected:
removed, secluded, untouchable: immortal.

What they build are pyramids,
monuments to themselves.
And they crown themselves
and each other, craft
Ideologies, Empires, Philosophy.
All things, all distractions.

The dreamers are a
potential for labor.
There's no benefit in
"allowing"
them to carry on as they were.

They create slavery,
they create slaves,
they justify slavery,
they convince us that it is good,
except this time they call it:
individualism, freedom, quality of life,
they call this *dreams*.

The builders did more than
just plant instead of forage.
They created a new being,
they tried to stop the world
in its tracks and create a new
thing. hierarchies form. Property
is created. linear is emerging, life
is being pushed aside for future.
lines are put across the
planet, and militaries are created
to enforce them. we stop being one,
and the world is against us. we fear,
we make laws, we enforce them, we go
to war, we make steel tools, weapons,
and we don't stop. we don't learn,
we tear apart this planet, our
home, it starts here.

it continues:
nations are drawn up and
invaded, peoples trying to live are
buried up to their head in the sand,
and a game is made of kicking them
off. whole tribes are torn from each
other and their home. they are
overcrowded on ships and sent over to
be cheaper slaves, auctioned off,
legalized, illegalized (read: renamed),
and sacrificed.

cities are built, people
pushed together so close that they
have nothing left of them-selves
anymore. it drives a dreamer crazy,
but the craziness is actually
considered sanity and all the "loose
ends" are tidied up. it is gift
wrapped and gold and exchanged and
taught to say "thank you" and "appreciate"
when something "good" is done.
morals, manners, lessons,
ethics: all fancy names for obedience,
law and order.



Never mind millions of years,
never mind the millions of years
humans have:
co-existed and dreamed and embraced
chaos without annihilating each other,
or enslaving, or oppressing, or creating
systems, governments, cities,
agriculture, fences, schools, roads,
railroads, bikes, jobs, factories, and
all that other "greatness" that comes
with civilization.

nevermind the dreams. . .

He injects the hope,
she snorts her dreams,
he stops eating
because he thinks he looks fat,
she is suffering from liver damage,
he collapsed coming home from work,
she has breast cancer,
he can't sleep anymore,
she can't take it,
and he beat her up
because he can't take it either.
She is locked up
because her searching wasn't
the right option
. . . in the eyes of the builders.

She knows he is dying,
and she doesn't know what to do about it.
He is confident that her options
are the best.

They are convinced that they
are happy.
So they roll their joy
up and burn it into their lungs,
while their dream world is
burned into their brain,
through their eyes, ears, veins. . .

He doesn't even hear
the hum of machines any more,
and she plays music full blast
because it's too quiet.

they grasp on and ride full speed,
searching. . .

The fate of the builders' future
is not hard to imagine.
They can take erode our
dreams, and push us into history,
but we can see where their
story (the anti-myth) ends.

It has happened before,
and it will happen again,
because the builders
aren't capable of stopping,
or wondering, or being,
they push along,
pushing all of us along.

Animals were used extensively in the Coliseum
games. The animals were there to wonder at,
to fear, to dominate, and to die. They were wild,
captivating spectacles from beyond the order
of civilization, captured at civilization's edges.
The frontiers had been pushed out so far that
there was little exposure to the other, the
savage for the average Roman. So when
exotic animals were brought back from
Rome's distant campaigns, it offered a unique
chance to behold that novelty. It seems
that the animals represented wildness
as a whole. Scenery in the Coliseum
would be changed to replicate the world
that the beast was from to reenact the
hunt. This was done to recreate the
process of conquering the wild, the
ritual of civilization.

The crowds had such an appetite for
exotic animals that many of the animals
used for coliseum games were hunted
to extinction. A whole species of
African elephant was among many
others used in the games that were
made extinct. In a humorous letter,
Cicero discusses the shortage of wild
animals to be captured in the province
of which he was provincial governor:
"there is a remarkable shortage of the
animals, and only a few of 'those
panthers' remain". The stench of death
at the coliseum became so over-
whelming that they tried to cover it
up with a system of sprinklers spraying
perfume throughout the stadium. I am
reminded of all the myriad ways in
which the stench of death that
civilization carries with it are covered
over, or ignored.

An interesting analogy between
Roman culture and American is that
the gladiators were seen as sports heroes
are today. They were admired by children and
some small toys of gladiators were found.
Many statues of famous gladiators had figures
of wild animals as their penis, making clear
the connection between patriarchy, domination,
and conquest.

Tacitus said in the 2nd century A.D.,
"Robbery, murder, are all disguised
under the Name Empire"

As Rome grew, so too did the gap between
rich and poor. "A cruel inequality that would
haunt the empire till its very end". Rome was
booming from spoils of war and nature.
If you were rich
enough to enjoy it,
life in Rome was
indeed like the
Rome we hear of.
But for most, it was
a life of squalor.
Class lines were
rigidly drawn, and
hostility between
the classes was
intense. There
were two main
classes, the Plebian
class made up
mostly of Roman
farmers and the
poor, and the
Patrician class
who were the
high-ranking
nobles. All the
officials in Rome
were from the
Patrician class.
The richest were
wealthy as the
empire itself, but most of the inhabitants were
packed into small multi-story apartments. Behind
the splendor of the Forum where the Senate
met, there were vast areas of crowded slums.

The wars of expansion had brought wealth and
slaves. A half million slaves were taken from
the conquest of Carthage alone. 10,000 slaves
a day were brought in through Rome's main
port. At its peak 1 in 3 people in Rome was a
slave. Until the 5th century B.C. Rome was

dotted by family farms, but small family farms
were driven out by the large estates that started
developing and came to dominate the landscape.
The small farmers couldn't compete with the
large estates that employed slave labor. It was
also common for some peasants to return from
compulsory military service to find that their
land had been bought or stolen by aristocrats.

Soon the peasants were displaced and drifted
into the cities, creating a new urban underclass.
This caused the city of Rome to grow to 7
million people, the largest city in Europe until
the Industrial Revolution. No jobs were
available because the huge slave population
was used to perform the needed tasks. But
thousands of hungry citizens would have been
a threat to the peace of the city. So the government
set up a program to feed the poor called the
"dole", a daily ration of food and small sum
of money. Soon, half the people living in the
cities were given the grain dole. One-fourth
of the grain from Africa was given to the
poor of Rome. 70-80% of the population
relied on one grain.

"Our history now plunges from a
kingdom of gold, to one of iron and rust"
- Eutropius, Roman historian,
end of 3rd century A.D.

It is very interesting that Rome ultimately fell
because of civilization itself. In fact, one of
civilization's most basic tenets led to its
collapse. The characteristic feature of
civilization is displacement. Shut out by the
Chinese landlords, the Huns had no option but
to move west. As they moved they pushed all
tribes in their path west as well. This cycle of
displacement continued and many groups were
pushed as far west as they could go and were
pushed up against Rome's eastern borders.
Expanding civilizations elsewhere displaced
the famous barbarians that attacked Rome
in the last few centuries.

From 235 A.D. to 285 A.D., a strong epidemic,
declining supply of wheat, and barbarian
invasions marked the beginning of the
decline of the Roman Empire. The last
emperor, Romulus Augustulus, was disposed
of the throne. It is very interesting that the
first and the last Emperors of Rome were
named Romulus. The first president of the
United States was named George, the
current president is also named George. . .
might he also be the last?

The fall of Rome was a magnificent event.
An event to be celebrated, as it was the
collapse of what was
at the time the most
destructive, alienating,
and brutal society.
Rome fell slowly, over
a period of centuries.
Civilization is collaps-
ing, ever degenerating.
Sometimes slowly,
sometimes in fits of
ecological catastrophe
and social break-
down. America is also
falling. But America is
much larger an empire
than Rome was, and
all its vices, habits,
hierarchies, and
exploitation dwarf
Rome in destructive-
ness. Its obsessions
with ecological
destruction make
the modern techno-
industrial empire all
the more unsustainable.

The fall of Rome
should be instructive. The contempt, jealousy,
and hatred from its oppressed and colonized,
the destruction of its ecological base, its
over-extended empire, and top heavy
bureaucracy all led to its fall. I propose that
modern civilization has surpassed even
Rome in all these factors. The only thing
keeping this corpse propped up is its ability,
superior to any variant of civilization so
far, to convince its subjects to maintain
faith in it through over domestication,

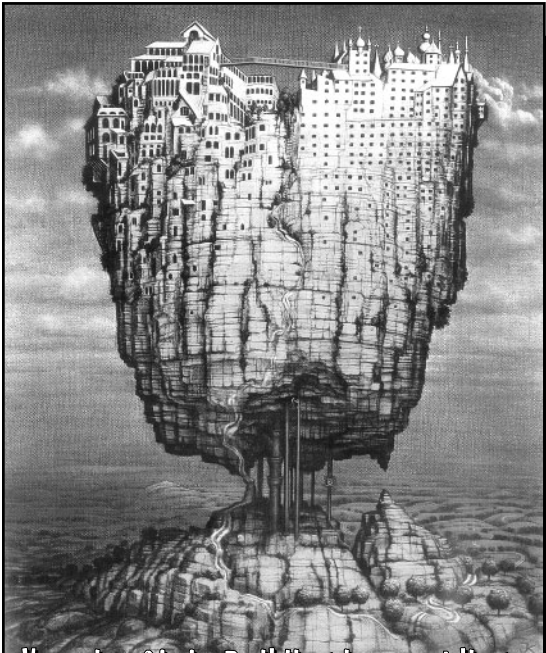


and also to achieve more and more technological advances that keep its decaying systems alive. Technological medicine helped fight the plethora of diseases ravaging the citizens of industrial civilization that surely would have ended it and yet will still bring it to its knees. "Advancements" in agriculture, like poisoning the land and water with fertilizers and domesticating and manipulating the genes that make up the very essence of life, have made it possible to feed over-populated human cities with an unsustainable food source that is quickly failing. The list goes on and on. Without these techno-fixes civilization would have ended as it should have, but none of these is anything but a quick fix whose shallow solutions will fail and lose their glossy image. So, yes, this death machine that is western civilization will ultimately collapse, it's just a matter of when.

Kingdoms fall, cities perish,
And of what Rome once was
Nothing remains except an empty name.
Only the fame and honor of those things,
Sought out in learned books,
Escape the funeral pyres.
—Florent Schoonhoven

Though there is much to learn from the fall of Rome, my point here is not to warn us that we must change our ways or suffer the same fate as Rome. This is not a warning or plea to change when I say that we face the same dangers as did Rome. I am instead trying to show that there may yet be hope for this awful civilization's collapse!

When Rome collapsed it was followed by the Dark Ages. Although labeled such by the prophets of this civilization for its backwardness and slow technological progress, the Dark Ages were a period of a sort of proto-modern civilization, a horrible era not any better than what followed or preceded it. Will a similar "dark ages" follow the American Empire's collapse? We need to work hard to make sure that when America and the civilization it leads does collapse, we dance on its ashes, to stomp out any and all trace of the tendency called civilization to ensure that an era of freedom and harmony will follow.



Vampire State Building is crumbling. . .

((collapse)) ~~~~~>

there is an inherent flaw in civilization, and that has brought it down before and will again. the builders think that they can remove themselves from *wildness*, our true being. they think because they are capable of manipulation, that it will last. they put up fences, maintain roads, rake leaves, mow lawns, put up buildings, pull out weeds. . . but wildness does not stop. it knows no Time, no Future, no Boundaries, and it will continue to seep through the cracks and destroy the monuments and empires.

the silt that brought life to the (once) Fertile Crescent (cradle of civilization) sustained in ways that no Science or "Management" could ever reproduce.

the Mesopotamians thought it could last forever, and so they built, dammed, ordered and directed the flow of the great Nile, just as the hundreds of dams infecting the veins of the earth do now.

Their empires grew and fell, and the soil gave way. It seems Science and Reason can never replicate "Nature," because it has lost the sacred understanding of life.

Their domesticated animals inject their hooves onto depraved and overgrazed fields.

Their diseases multiply through their confinement, carrying on throughout the water and infect all of us, (depraved of all immunity by eating chemicals and antibiotics, wiping out our ability to cleanse and balance)

The cancer spreads rampantly and blindly, Destroying anything in its path.

The forests are cleared for more grazing land, the water is destroyed, the soil no longer produces, the people starve and revolt, power changes hands, tightens the leash, and eventually crumbles.

This fate is inherent in Civilization, in the attempt to move from wildness.

The collapse is coming through the ecological excess through the depravation and destruction.

I have felt their loss and confusion, been on their search, seen through their Future.

I have been there as the search for dreams has ended in another box, the coffin.

I have seen the dreamers crushed, for they are around me, and I am of them, and I too still search.

Society is a plastic flower. plastic flowers do not fade. they melt under heat.

I am among generations of potential dreamers, lost to the grinding noise of civilizations' death. And those who are injecting, watching, masturbating, plugging in, shooting off, drinking and eating it, are my brother, my sister, my friend, family, lover, stranger, our planet, our love: my dreams : my life.

I breathe the toxins of (union, eco-friendly) factories, I drink the (piss and shit) water of industry, I eat the (organic) filth of agriculture.

I live the death of civilization, while it devours itself around and of me.

This world, this burden pushed upon me, is eating me alive, Killing the dreams of children, Sucking the hope of all of us.

This world, which has taken my birth right, my dreams, my life, and the community my true being once knew.

I see the slaves themselves trying to fix it, while it can never be fixed, only eliminated.

I see a world of dreams, possibilities, that await outside its gates.

I see millions of dreamers, waiting: dying, for just that one chance to live.

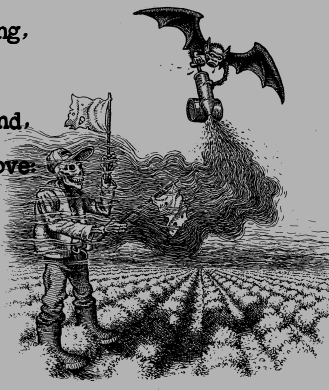
I see this world crumbling and I am told to maintain it, it is my inheritance. (it : Future, Legacy, Progress, Civilization).

I feel the chance (again) to be the human-animal, to open the gates, and I say to the builders, to their slow, painful death, to their nightmare:

burn, motherfucker, burn.

-Kevin Tucker for mike.

If you like what you just read, then contact:
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Species Traitor #3

The primary section in this issue is on symbolic culture. We feel very strongly about the subject and feel that it remains a kind of academic or fringe obscurity while it is central to understanding the existence of civilization. It seems that any act of liberation will require a turn on this totalistic world view that we've been domesticated to.

Despite the enormous efforts and focus of anarchists like John Zerzan, a critique of symbolic thought/culture tends to get shoved to the side when talking about practical means of destroying civilization and reconnecting to wildness. When we brought up the idea of doing a focus on symbolic culture, we were criticized for picking a 'timeless' and 'academic' philosophy that had no direct relation to dealing with the problems we face. Obviously we feel the opposite. How can trying to understand and revolt against the way we (the civilized) interact with the world be considered unimportant?

The topic really couldn't be timelier. In this time of State conflicts and seeing how Bush could very well be giving civilization a final shove (albeit on a potentially nuclear level) it becomes all the more important to question what the protagonist may be. It is vital to realize that every bit of propaganda that comes out (and my, *how surreal* that has gotten...) is nothing but a complete show of how symbolic culture functions. While capitalism is the current face of civilization, the spectacle is the current face of symbolic culture. We have the media (consolidated spectacle) contorting the way we deal with others and trivializing our existence and people eat it up so long as we are preoccupied with 'material comforts'.

Our goal here is to draw upon a critique of the totality of civilized thought, symbolic culture, as a pivotal part of our relations and movement towards liberation. The focus here is to expose all the underlying aspects of civilized, and even most 'revolutionary', perception and question at the source. The continued existence of civilization carries on through an infection of the being from cradle to grave (literally). We hope the critiques given here will encourage others to work with these concepts and social relations. To destroy civilization, we must seek it out in its totality. We hope this issue will be another step towards total liberation.

The other sections in this issue are ones we hope will remain constants and that all you folks reading this will contribute to. Those are: revolution and insurrection and explorations of anarchy and anthropology/archaeology. We feel that there is much talk about ideas of destroying civilization, but much of the debate has been in the terms of those seeking to seize state power, whereas we feel liberation will only come through the abolition of power. This section is a starting point to opening up practical ideas of bringing this about.

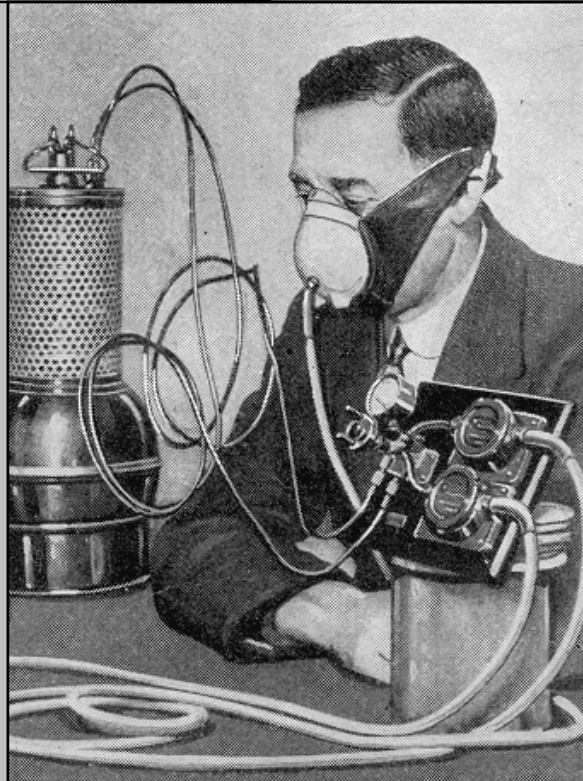
The 'exploration' section opens questions about the 'sacred cow' of anthropology. We realize that the anarcho-primitivist critique of civilization is generally considered dependent upon this field. We realize that anthropology is a science, and therefore shaped by the problems that come with it. This section began with the essay 'anarcho-primitivism beyond anthropology and archaeology' from *Species Traitor* #2, and with an interview with anarcho-primitivist archaeologist Theresa Kintz and some more about the limits and uses of anthropology.

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an interview with film-maker, Godfrey Reggio

Godfrey Reggio could be described, simply, as a documentarian. However, his experimental, non-narrated films go far beyond the simplistic mode of information-based moving pictures. Instead of numbers, charts and equations we are presented with inscrutable human faces, immersed in the technological world through which they travel. Stunning natural oases of water and land barricade the ominous enormity of industrialism, which crashes and storms with the surges of Phillip Glass' minimalist orchestral score. Challenging, but never high-minded, encompassing but never elitist, Reggio has finally concluded the Qatsi trilogy (Koyaanisqatsi, Powaqatsi and Naqoyqatsi) with the theatrical release of Naqoyqatsi. Each film deals with, respectively, the perspectives as regards technology within the first world, the third world and the digital world, to be very brief.

Founded 33 years ago, Reggio has worked in a "non-ideological, mutual aid collective" which operated without wage labor and focused on living life creatively. Its members have managed to retain creative control over their films despite substantial contracts with MGM, which has released the Qatsi DVDs. He and his teams' creative approach to cataloguing and debunking the industrial division of labor is unprecedented in the documentary tradition. Reggio's work, in particular Koyaanisqatsi, is notable to Green Anarchists as one of the first films to question technology as a totality. In his own words, "The idea was to mainline in the vascular structure of the beast this form, which was created by technology, to question technology. In other words, these are not environmental films, these are films more about the presence of technology as a new and comprehensive host of life and three different points of view about it." The current film, Naqoyqatsi, will finish its theatrical run on January 24 and arrive in a three-DVD set with the rest of the films in 2004. Reggio has no current plans to create films after the end of the Qatsi trilogy.

SkI: Could you give us some brief background on your life in the context of what brought you to critiquing technological processes through film? What experiences, thoughts or words influenced your path?

Godfrey Reggio: Well, I think for all of us there's a line, even though it's quite crooked, that gives, as it were, some testament to who we are and what we do. In my case, I grew up in a very stratified society of New Orleans. At the age of 13/14, I decided to throw in the towel, that it was all too crazy, not so interesting. I was getting burnt out. At a young age, living in the fat as it were, I decided to go away and become a monk. So I left home. My parents were not too excited about that, and I stayed out for 14 years, having taken final vows as a Christian brother. In effect, got to live in the middle ages during the 1950s and learned crazy things, like the meaning of life is to give, not to receive, that we should be in the world but not of it. All these things I think, certainly influenced me. I'm very grateful for that highly disciplined, very rugged way of life, that would make the marine corp look like the boy scouts. So I think that had a big influence on me. During the course of that time, I saw a film called *Los Olvidados* by Luis Bunuel, the forgotten one, so *The Young and the Damned*, the first film he made in Mexico after being kicked out of Franco Spain. It was so moving to me that it was the equivalent of a spiritual experience. I was at that time working with street gangs. This film was about the street gangs in Mexico City, I was working with street gangs in Northern New Mexico. It moved me to the quick, it wasn't entertainment, it was something that was an event that touched me and hundreds

and hundreds of gang members that saw it. We bought a 16mm copy and I guess I've seen the film a couple hundred times. So that motivated me to look towards film as a medium of direct action. Now, film is usually not seen as that. I don't see it as entertainment in my case, I hope it can be a vehicle for direct action. That's how I became involved, it was also during that time that I had the good fortune to meet Ivan Illich, Illich was a priest at that time, I don't know if you know who Illich is.

SkI: I do.

GR: Ok, he's just passed away by the way, December the 2nd. So I had the good fortune to become a confidant of his, at a young age I used to do my religious retreats in Mexico at his think tank. Got a great appreciation for, I guess, being sensitive to different points of view about what could be done for social change. His point of view was much more radical than, say, the radical left of the country, which was anti-war, social justice and a good dose of socialism or communism. His radicalism was way beyond that, it was much more fundamental. It had to do with the very nature of society and institutions, not just who controls them, which is kind of the communist mantra. So I had the opportunity to be in the presence of a great teacher, who was also a great activist. So I think those things impelled me to the position I'm in now.

SkI: One of the influences you've noted at the end of Naqoyqatsi is Jacques Ellul, whose critique of technology is closely intertwined with a Christian theology. You, yourself, were once a Christian monk. Do you feel that a critique of the dominant technological order is effective in a religious context?

GR: Yes I do, now let's talk a little bit about his critique. This was a man who was not accepted by either the organized religions of his day or the left of France. He was persona

non-grata from the left and the right, much like Wilhelm Reich was persona non-grata of the left and right of Germany. Here was a man who, more than any single individual, has contributed to our understanding of the nature of technology not as something we use but as something we live. For Jacques Ellul, technology is the new and comprehensive host of life, the new environment of life. The problem with that statement is that our language hasn't caught up to the profundity of the thought, our language has become assumptive and no longer, in my opinion, describes the world in which we live. Ellul bore great criticism, if not persecution for his ideas, from the left as well as the right, because like Ivan Illich, who made statements like "Freedom is the ability to say 'no' to technological necessity", Jacques Ellul described our greatest act of freedom as to know that which controls our behavior. So both of these men were on very similar tracts, both of them were way outside the sphere of organized right and left, both of them were way to the left of the left. His ideas on the environment, you could call them Christian, but I wouldn't, certainly he was a theologian and he wrote many books on the word of god from his own point of view, but his stuff can certainly stand. His book for example, *The Technological Society*, his first book, 1949 I think it was really written and released here sometime in the mid 50s, that book is a solid philosophical, sociological text about the nature of technique. It's light years beyond anything being written now. I think, if I'm not mistaken, the University of California at Berkeley has acquired the rights to his full library, all of his notes, his books, and they have in there a great gem.

SkI: What was the impetus to initiate the Qatsi trilogy? What motivations brought you, a person not associated with film into the director's chair?

GR: Street gangs for many years, as a brother. I became convinced that, while there are a few loonies that probably would hurt anybody under any condition, most people are good. I believe that, it's my experience that most people are good, it's not something I believe, it's something I know. If you tell somebody they're a shit, they'll probably behave like a shit. If you tell somebody they're great, they might achieve greatness. I think that's the fragility of who we are. We live in a world not of this or that but this and that. So after working with street gangs for quite a long time, I realized that the context in which people of poverty have to try to work out how to live in this society is very cruel. I didn't start this project to set up an institution that would live forever. It was a response to an immediate situation, and I left to pursue film as a form of direct action, now by that I mean the following; since people are at the public trough of cinema, either through television or in the theater itself, I felt, what better place to put another idea out? Not in the form of language, but in the form of image and music. Let me explain that it's not for lack of love for the language that my films have no words. It's because of my, I guess, tragic thought that our language no longer describes the world in which we live. Through Ivan Illich, I had the good fortune to meet Paulo Freire, in Brazil, in Sao Paulo, before he passed on. I had a good time talking with him about this enormous book that he wrote, *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. In that, he says that the single most important thing a person can do is to begin to rename the world in which they live. This was his form of literacy, not teaching one how to read a book in the traditional sense, but to rename the world, because when you name something, you in effect create it. My own thought is that our language is bound with antique ideas, old formulas that no longer describe the moment in which we are. Therefore, that statement, "A picture is worth a thousand words," I tried to take it and turn it on its head, and try to give you a thousand pictures that can offer the power of one word. In the case of each of the three films, *Koyaanisqatsi*, *Powaqatsi*, *Naqoyqatsi*, words that come from an illiterate source, a primal source, a wisdom that is beyond our ability to describe the world. A wisdom that says that all things we call normal are abnormal, all things that we call sane are insane. Now I realize that this is a pretty intense point of view, but that's the point of view I ended up with from my own experience, not from academia but from being on the line in the '60s, trying to see the world from another point of view.

SkI: The films were independently funded, avoiding governmental grant processes and industrialist handouts. You seem conscious of that old Marxist adage that the ideology closest to the means of production becomes the dominant ideology. Do you feel that you were able to avoid the constraints of capital influence in the Qatsi trilogy?

GR: Well, you know, it's hard to say that. I wouldn't want to exempt myself from anything, all of money is dirty money. Whether I got my money from an angel, and I don't know how you get your money but it's as dirty as the money I got. The events that I'm talking about are way beyond capitalism and communism, which is its flipside. Both of those 'isms are much closer together than most people believe. They both share the same point of view about the instrumentality of life, the mass society, the industrialization of society, their only difference is who controls it. In the case of capitalists, it's individuals who have accumulated wealth on the backs and the injustice of millions of people, literally. In the case of the soviets, it's a new class of administrators, bureaucrats, who created a class, in my opinion, just as ironclad and unjust as the capitalist class. Both really want the same thing, they are just concerned about who controls the means of production. My question is not who controls the means of production, but the nature of production, as such. The question is not whether or not workers have an equitable pay and a healthy work environment, which is the interest of organized labor, or the left that works with organized labor. The question, more profoundly, is,

what is the effect of the automobile on society and should we have that in the first place? So, we're dealing more with fundamental questions. It has become my experience, sadly, that human beings become their environment. We become what we see, what we hear, what we taste, what we touch. Anything that we do without question, in an altered state, we become that environment. If the environment that we live in today, as Ellul says, is a technological milieu or environment, if we no longer live with nature, and I'm not parenthetically talking about going back to teepees and caves etc., if our environment itself is technological, if we don't use technology, if we live it, breathe it like the air that is ubiquitous around us, then we become that environment. In that sense, whether you're communist, capitalist, socialist, primitive, an outsider, an artist, a revolutionary, if you live in this world, all of us doing that, we become this world. In that sense, all of us now are cyborged. 'Cyborg' is not something for the future, it is already here. We live now in both worlds. The old world, the world that 'nature' replaced, old nature, held its unity through the mystery of diversity. So there are many languages, many different environments to live in, there's tropical, there's semi-tropical, there's mountain, there's desert, there's savannah, there's salva etc. There's not one flower, there's uncountable flowers. Not one animal, a zillion of them, not one human being, many. The mantra of the old world was divided we stand. The new world, the technological order, holds its unity through a technological imperative. It creates unity through technological homogenization. Its mantra is "united we stand." To me, this is the moment we're in. We're at that crossroads and the world is becoming homogenized, what we're seeing is the Los Angelization of the planet through technology. My work has been, in effect, to try to shield my eyes from the blinding light of the new sun, technology, seeking the darkness, walking towards the positive value of negation. Trying to question the very structures, the very contexts in which we live, not who controls them.

We become what we see, what we hear, what we taste, what we smell, it's so easily said but it's a profound concept beyond the simplicity of the words that bear it. We live in an environment, as Ellul said, that is, in terms of a social event, the most enormous event of the last 5,000 years has gone unnoticed, the transitioning of old nature to new nature. Environmentalists don't get it, most of the environmentalism is how to make this madness safe. How to make cars safe, how to make industry safe, how to make electricity and war safe for the environment. We live in a time where we are like blind people, we don't see the moment in which we are. We no longer use metaphor as our means of communion or communication (i.e. language). Metamorphosis is the form now, where the transformation, where the substance of something is changed, the transubstantiation of something is a metamorphic approach to communion rather than the metaphoric, which is the power of language. But language is disappearing. At the beginning of the 20th century, there were over 30,000 languages and principal dialects in the world. Today, with many more people, over double the number of people that were present then, we're approaching 4,000 languages and principal dialects. In other words, as the earth is being eaten up by the voracious appetite of technology, everything that is local is disappearing. In that disappearance, language disappears and when language disappears, we are left with a more homogenized language to describe the world which, again, does not give us access to understanding. It produces more conformity.

Skj: *With Koyaanisqatsi you examined the first world in great detail, starting off from stunning wild lakes, through constricting cities, the faces of people, culminating in the destruction of the space shuttle Challenger. Throughout this film, technology is portrayed as an acceleratory, agglomerating, isolating and destructive force. Many critics would charge that it is merely the arrangement of technology or the puppeteer behind the scenes controlling technology that must be changed. Do you see hierarchy as endemic to these systems of control? Can we separate technology from domination?*

GR: I don't believe, I think it's a pure myth, right, left, upside-down, backward, to think that we control technology. I think that's a joke. Technology is in the driver's seat. I would go to the very radical writing of Mary Shelley, not the Hollywood version, but her original book *Frankenstein*,

where we've empowered something that's not in the organic realm, we've organized and allowed it to exist, and now it has its own life form. Now, that's very hard for us to get our mind around, because we give ourselves more credit than we're due. We think that our greatest attribute is our mind, actually our greatest attribute is what is our action, our act, what we do everyday. It's what we've become. Marx has this great adage, I think Marx says, "Is it the behavior we have that determines our consciousness or is it the consciousness that we have that determines our behavior?" And of course the answer for 8 out of 7 people is that it's the behavior that we involve ourselves in that determines our consciousness. The only way to avoid that is to do what Joseph Brotsky did, to become an outsider to society, all of us have to live in this world but we don't have to be of it. Brotsky decided not to be of it. He became, for me, a revolutionary poet, though he's not seen that way in the communist world.



Stood outside, answered Marx's questions. He said consciousness, or removing oneself, being in the world but not of it, would be a way of having your mind determine your behavior. So, the thing that I'm railing against, technology, is something I use. Some would say this is hypocritical or contradictory, let me agree with them, that it is contradictory. In the sense I'm trying to communicate, and wishing to do so in the contradiction of a mass culture, then I have to consciously adopt the tools of that culture or the language of that culture in order to communicate. So it's the equivalent of fighting fire with fire. In that sense, I see the work that I do as direct action. Though I certainly use a very high-tech base, using that in order to make it available to raise questions about the very thing I'm using.

Skj: *The camerawork in city scenes throughout the trilogy often creates an industrial claustrophobia, giant buildings crowd the viewer into a confrontation with urban space as alienation. Living in the desert as long as you have, what are your impressions of urban civilization?*

GR: Well I grew up in urban civilization, in New Orleans, then I came out to New Mexico which is one of the highest deserts in the world. Here, the sky you don't look at, you breathe it. I've lived here now 44 years, I consider myself fortunate to be out here, it's like the Siberia of America. In this magnificent beauty is this enormous enigma, and the evil demon of nuclear technology that sits, as the crow flies, about 14 miles from my window. So it's a place of inscrutable beauty and unbelievable demonic energy. I'm sure that's had an influence on me, being here, breathing the sky and having the presence of this monster. It allows me to have another point of view of the world in which I lived. When I shot *Koyaanisqatsi* with my collaborators, the way we did this film was eliminate all the foreground of what is a normal theatrical film, the plot, the characterization, the acting etc. When you don't have the foreground, what's left is the second unit or background to the story. Stripping the film of all that foreground material, we take the background or second unit, and make that the foreground. So, in this case, the building becomes like an entity, the traffic becomes like an entity, something that has a life of itself. The whole purpose of this film was to try to see the ordinary, that which, let's say, we are basted in. Being marinated in the environment that we live in, it all seems very familiar. And I was trying to show that that very thing that we call familiar is itself a techno-fascistic way of living. So I tried to see it from

another point of view, I tried to see it as a life-form, albeit a non-organic life-form, that has a life absolutely independent of our own. Right now, the cities are made for the automobile, not for the people. When the automobile was brought in as a technology, they said it would just be a "faster horse," it wouldn't have any more effect than that. But we all know that's ridiculous, we all know that we pay a hidden price for our pursuit of technological happiness and we call it, instead of war, we call it accident. But more people die in vehicular crashes than they do in war, if that's even believable. So, it's just the price we're willing to pay for the pursuit of our technological happiness, and these films are about questioning that point of view.

Skj: *Powaqqatsi is defined at the end of the second film as "a way of life that consumes the life forces of other beings in order to further its own life." Later you are quoted as saying that between the third world and the first world, Powaqqatsi captures "our unanimity as a global culture." Now, the film portrays the third world from agriculture to commodity trading, bartering to industry—a narrative is constructed that seems to point the third world in the direction of increasingly intensified civilization. To what extent are the narratives of "development" (in the case of the WTO and IMF) and "history" (in the case of Marxism) negative factors in the lives of people in the third world? Since the definition of Powaqqatsi refers to a parasitic sorcerer, is it reasonable to characterize the first world as a parasite?*

GR: My answer would be simply, yes. The whole point of view of *Naqoyqatsi* is that through the dogma/religion point of view of progress and development, which again, parenthetically, is not only a capitalist agenda but also a Marxist agenda—that very paradigm consumes, and eats, and pulls out of the sockets people who live a handmade life. I was criticized when I made that film by leftists in Germany, for romanticizing poverty, for trying to eliminate industrialization and, therefore, a better way of living. Well that's in a point of view, if that's how they see it so be it, but that's certainly not my intention. My intention was to say that standards of living are ephemeral. The standard of living of the world is based on first world norms, of consumption, of the institutionalization of life, of giving up your own control to the control of others. The very opposite is true in the so-called third world or Southern hemisphere,



where really, the heritage of the earth exists not only in nature but in human development. Small, convivial, decentralized societies of handmade living, where things can be uniquely different, valley to valley, plain to plain. The world that we're trying to throw, through the IMF etc. on the southern hemisphere, is a world of homogenized value. A world where Los Angeles, Jakarta, Hong Kong, the Philippines etc. all look the same. This is in diametric opposition to the nature of the development of the South, which is disappearing right now because of the norms of development. The very founding, for example, of the United

Nations, was founded on the dogma, on the theology, on the philosophy of promoting progress and development around the world as our guarantee for world peace. Now what crazier thought could you have? All of us buy in, in some way. Many people buy into the United Nations, but their very purpose is to produce this homogenizing event all over the world. For me this is the essence of technofascism, and it's another example of how the Northern hemisphere is consuming, without question, the Southern hemisphere. The Northern hemisphere has consumed most of its own resources already, the Southern hemisphere is where the nature bank of our world still exists. If the north has its way, that will be consumed to create and further develop the technological order, which for me, is a fascistic venture. (continued on next page)

more of an interview with Godfrey Reggio

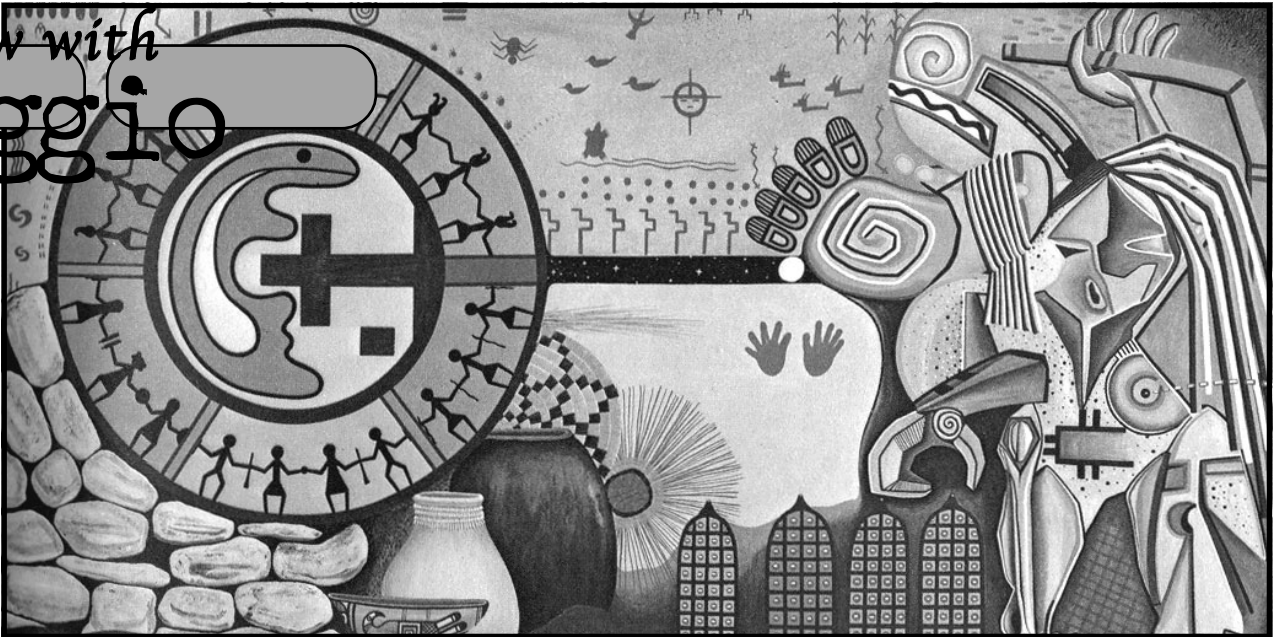
SkI: *The latest film, Naqoyqatsi, has shifted the focus directly to digital technology and its violent consequences. What societal changes, observed in the bridge between Powaqqatsi and Naqoyqatsi, did you want to integrate into the new film?*

GR: Here's the thing, these films, early on, were conceived. It took years to realize them, but the idea was that *Koyaanisqatsi* would deal with northern hemisphere or in your terms, first world. The hyper-industrial grids that we call societies. The second film deals with the southern hemisphere or what you might call the third world. Societies of simplicity, where unity is held through the mystery of diversity and how those societies are being consumed by the myth of progress and development. The third film, conceived early on as well, dealt with the globalized moment in which we live. How the world is being homogenized, how unity is being held together by the new divine, the computer. The new divine is the manufactured image, which is the subject of *Naqoyqatsi* and hence, the necessity of using digital technology to create it. In the case of *Koyaanisqatsi* and *Powaqqatsi*, we went to real locations to film them. In the case of *Naqoyqatsi*, we went to virtual locations to film them. We took stock and archival images that venerated familiar those things we have all grown up with through the myth of history, and we've taken and revived them, or tortured them with a computer to create a manufactured image which is, as Baudrillard would call, the evil demon of image. The purpose of image is to produce this monstrous, demonic conformity. Right now, image is more important than truth or reality. Look at the political spectrum, it's all about the image of something. So this third film deals squarely with the image as its principal subject matter, the manufactured image in the globalization of the world.

We spoke a bit about the computer, because it plays a central role as an entity in *Naqoyqatsi*. From my point of view, the computer is the new divine. When I say that, it portends supernatural powers. The computer is not just something we use again, it's the very vehicle that's remaking the world to its own image or likeness. If one were a Christian theologian or a Catholic theologian, the highest form of magic in the Catholic universe is the sacrament. The sacrament is different from a sign in that it produces what it signifies. Unlike a sign, like if one is married and wears a ring, that ring is a sign of your fidelity, of your union with your spouse. But it doesn't produce it, it only reminds you or others that you're married. In the case of a sacrament, the sacrament produces what it signifies. So if there was a sacrament of unity, it produces that unity, it's the very highest form of magic. So I'm saying that the computer is the new sacramental magic, it produces what it signifies, it remakes the world to its own image and likeness. In that sense it is the very driving force of what I would call, the techno-fascistic world. As the swastika was the image of fascism in the 20th century, and there were many other images as well but that one prevailed, the new image of techno-fascism is the blue planet. Not the reality of the earth, but the image of the blue planet. That, to me, is the ubiquitous image of techno-fascism.

SkI: *Notably, Naqoyqatsi's framing definition is "civilized violence." Never before in the series has the polemic been so searingly presented. Yet, throughout Naqoyqatsi, while high technology and digital life are critically examined, the film is ambiguous as to the fundamental disjunct that enables civilized violence. From a primitivist perspective, which views the rise of technology parallel to the rise of the division of labor, agriculture and symbolic culture, it seems like an incomplete critique. How do we undo technology, a force we breathe like oxygen, if we have no constructive alternative? Is it enough to present the case without suggesting a course of action?*

GR: Well, first of all, let me say if there's a course of action that someone would recommend that would be right for anyone, that very rightness for everyone would make it fascistic. So anything universal for me is fascistic. I don't pretend to have the answers, but I know that the question is the mother of the answer. Rather than presenting answers to people which I think is a fascist modus operandi, it's much more important to present questions. The question becomes the mother of the answer, that which can change things more fundamentally than anything is the power of a community example. The power of a community in direct action or living an alternative. I'm not talking about utopias, I'm talking about a community in struggle, that wishes to present an alternative to the



slavery to which we've all subjected ourselves through mass society. That would be a way out. If you look at it from a more comprehensive point of view, perhaps there is no exit from technology. This is, itself, a tragedy. On the other hand, I believe that there is no destiny that human beings can not overcome. How that is done is up to the individual, it's not up for any of us to give answers to others as to how to remake their world.

SkI: *Many civilized radicals find themselves weighed by guilt and alienated from cultures that civilization has domesticated. How did you, as a person born into American civilization, guide your participation in the lives of the Hopi? Why did you frame the discourse of all three movies in the context of Hopi prophecy?*

GR: Well first of all let me say that I'm not a Hopi devotee, I don't spend time over there. All of my contacts have died there. This film is not about Hopi, I am not trying to go back to a Hopi way of life, nor am I espousing that. We can't go back to the teepee, we can't go back to the cave. What I tried to do is simply take their point of view, because I found it laden with wisdom, I found that they understood our world better than we did. That doesn't have to be the result of guilt, it has to be the result of coming in contact with someone that blows your mind with their perspicacity of thought. That's what happened to me. It was music to my ears to hear David Menongue, an elder who was in his late 90s when I met him, say that everything that white people call normal we look at as abnormal. Everything white people call sane we look at as insane. Well that was music to my ears because that was exactly how I felt, they didn't give me this idea, it was like confirmation. If you have a way-out idea and it's so way-out that you think you might be nuts, which I thought for years, if you find some other people that actually have that same idea in another form, it confirms you. So I used it as a confirming. I also felt that their language has no cultural baggage, when you say *Koyaanisqatsi*, no one knows what that means, it sounds like, perhaps, a Japanese word. I'm taking that language, that doesn't come from a literate form, it actually comes from an illiterate form, it's a culture of morality. I'm taking the wisdom of that point of view to describe our world. Much like academics do in universities, they take their own subjective categories of intellectual pursuit and apply them to Indians through ethnographic studies, anthropology etc. This is turning the tables, it's taking the subjective content, or ideas, of Hopi, and applying it to white civilization. And that's something that makes some people uncomfortable. That's an easy way of getting out of seeing the value of other people's cultures and contributions beyond your own.

SkI: *One thing that I noticed, after viewing all three movies, was the persistent image of the atom bomb mushroom cloud. Culturally we've seen that everywhere, you could almost say that's a burnt out image for a lot of people. And yet, in Naqoyqatsi, which just came out, you put it in again. Is that something you see as an endpoint?*



GR: No, if it's burnt out, it's only because it's been used so often. My whole thing in *Naqoyqatsi*, was to take all of these burnt out images, images that we're surrounded with, like the wallpaper of life which we call history, that great lie as it were, and re-examine those, put them in another context. So this film was a little more difficult than the other two, it's taking our familiar, that which we've seen ad nauseam, and trying to put it in another context. Nuclear is something that, while we think we know something about, we have no idea of what it's done to us. Much like television, something as ubiquitous as television, we have no idea of what it's doing to us. Because we keep looking at it from the point of view of the subject matter that's on the tube, rather than the technology, which is a cathode ray gun aimed directly at the viewer that probably changes our genetic structure and certainly puts us into a deep comatose state. I made a film called *Evidence of Children Watching Television*, and they were watching Dumbo actually, or they could have been watching anything, it didn't really matter. Their eyes become fixated, their breathing slows down, automaticities take place on the face, slobbering comes out of the mouth, these kids are on drugs heavier than Prozac just by having the television on. It's the same thing with nuclear technology, we think it's just something that we control, that if we had a "Nuclear Test-ban" treaty, everything would be fine. The nuclear war has already occurred, all during the 50s. We doubled the background radiation of the planet, it's affected all of our genetic structures. So, while these things have the familiarity of the surface image, the profundity of their depth is something that we know very little about. I think it's Einstein that said that the fish would be the last to know water, I would say, taking off on that context, that human beings will be the last to know technology, because it's the very water we live in.

SkI: *What advice would you give to young people all around the world gradually awaking to the nightmare of a world out of control with the proliferation of mass techniques?*

GR: I don't like to give advice, but I'll say what I think as to what we can do. I think our greatest opportunity is to live a creative life. Often that means to reject schooling, rejecting organized education. For many of us, our diploma from college

becomes our death certificate, because it ingratiates us into a way of life that's unquestioned where the principal modus operandi is finance, or money. The real meaning of life, I think for all of us, in our different ways, is the opportunity to live a creative life, to create things, to name things. I would say for all of us, the most radical thing we can do, and the most practical thing we can do, is to be idealistic, to rename the world in which we live. I think we do that best through example, not just through using words, but using words that we can stand on, the acts that we do. Living in the world but not being of the world, being an outsider, yet knowing that all of us are insiders. Living with the conundrum that life is not this or that, life is this and that. It's not black or white, it's black and white. So I'll add to that whole recipe humor, and one has the possibility of living a meaningful life.

SkI *is a self-identified anarcho-primitivist living in Los Angeles, CA. The DVD double pack of Koyaanisqatsi and Powaqqatsi is now available. More info on the Qatsi films and Godfrey Reggio is available at www.qatsi.com*

REVIEWS

Armed Joy

by Alfredo M. Bonanno

"People are tired of meetings, the classics, point less marches, theoretical discussions that split hairs in four, endless distinctions, the monotony and poverty of certain political analyses. They prefer to make love, smoke, listen to music, go for walks, sleep, laugh, play, kill policemen, kill judges, blow up barracks. Anathema! The struggle is only legitimate when it is incomprehensible to the lead ers of the revolution.

Hurry comrade, shoot the policemen, the judge, the boss. Now, before a new police prevent you.

Hurry to say NO, before the new repression convinces you that saying no is pointless, mad, and that you should accept the hospitality of the mental asylum.

Hurry to attack Capital before a new ideology makes it sacred to you.

Hurry to refuse work before some new sophist tells you once again that "work makes you free." Hurry to play. Hurry to arm yourself."

- from the text

In the spirit of insurrection that is now exploding around the globe, we want to take the time to plug this short but potent pamphlet by Alfredo Bonanno who - as well as being someone who lives his beliefs - is one of the more cogent insurrectional writers and thinkers. This particular pamphlet addresses a wide range of topics, from the banality of commodity culture to the pre-fabricated false "happiness" that capitalism tries to sell us. It also rips into and rejects "production," the "economy," factory life and factory fetishization, reformism, organization and all the lies of the capitalist/statist spectacle. The insurrectional analysis that Bonanno puts forth in this pamphlet - on the poverty of work and the illusion of all external authority - clearly distinguishes *insurrectional anarchism* from leftism, which it has been inaccurately accused of resembling by some.

Some of my primitivist collaborators exhibit a profound lack of understanding with regard to what the insurrectionists are saying, which is "*Rise Up, Take Back Your Lives, This long nightmare needs to end NOW!*" and I would strongly encourage them to actually take the time to read the writings of the Italian, Spanish and Argentine insurrection-ists before they make any more uninformed, sweeping condemnations of what has always been one of the most hopeful and inspiring currents in our movement. I think they'll find that there is very little in the writings of Alfredo Bonanno that stand in direct contradiction to "primitivism," the anarchist *ideology* that so many anarchists now support and promote. There are many insurrectional anarchists who consider themselves at war with civilization, and this is because they've read and been influenced by the primitivist critique. But primitivism is ultimately just a critique, while insurrectional anarchism is a *practice*, or an approach, as well as a philosophical and political stance that certain anarchists have taken in regard to all

the barriers and institutions that stand between us and our freedom. The two currents - primitivism and insurrectional anarchism - are complimentary in my mind, and anyone active in the anti-civilization movement would do well to learn more about insurrectional anarchism, if only for spiritual and strategic inspiration.

Available for \$2.00 from the Green Anarchy Distro, PO Box 11331 Eugene OR 97440

Shoot The Women First

by Eileen MacDonald

"Shoot the women first!" is the advice given by "intelligence" agencies to law enforcement, paramilitary squads, and anti-terrorist teams dealing in armed-conflicts with revolutionaries and terrorists. It is implied by the author that when women take on the role of a revolutionary, as in other roles in society, it is done so more deeply and meaningfully then by men, making them more dangerous to their enemies. Eileen MacDonald, interested in the dynamics of women and armed conflict, travels through Europe, the Middle East, and south east Asia to interview and understand women involved in armed-resistance movements. She talks to women engaged in activities including hijacking, bomb-planting, rock-hurling, gun battles, assassinations, bank robberies, prison breaks, community organizing, and social support. She offers a peek into the perspectives of women involved with the E.T.A. (an underground Basque separatist group), the Palestinian Intifada (see page 2), the Irish Republican Army, the Red Brigades (an Italian armed Marxist group), and the Baader-Meinhof Group/Red Army Faction. The author's goal is not to judge the actions or ideologies behind them, but instead, understand the lives of women who are moved to the point of becoming armed combatants. She draws many interesting parallels between the various fighters, but is also clear that the specifics of their motivations are deep, historical, and personal. Except for Kim Hyon Hui of North Korea, who claims to have been brainwashed from early childhood by the repressive and cult-like Kim Il Sung regime, all of the women interviewed had been, and many still are, involved in liberation struggles. The women interviewed speak about their actions, machismo and sexism in their groups, motherhood, their thoughts on personal and revolutionary violence, and the particular aspects of being a woman in a revolution. An interesting re-occurring discussion is the view of armed women as "double-deviant," not only breaking the mold of "good citizen" by taking up arms, but also the breaking of the role of a "good woman" and all the patriarchal societal expectations which go along with it. Despite the datedness of the book (1991), and the feeling that the author may not be as tactically and morally down with armed-struggle as your typical GA reader, it is a very interesting and recommended read.

Available at most book stores and libraries.

Rogue Primate: An Exploration of Human Domestication by John A. Livingston

I became interested in John Livingston's book after reading his interview in Derrick Jensen's *Listening to the Land*. His theoretical progression had really caught my interest when I read that he had spent 20 years as the president of the Canadian Audubon Society, and other big name conservation groups, to come to terms with the overall insignificance and pettiness that the conservation movement is really all about. He chose to seek out more of an encompassing understanding about the relationship between humans and the natural world. His resignation took the form of the (hard to find) thesis, *The Fallacy of Wildlife Conservation* (1981).

He begins this book by talking about this move and the opposition he faced in making this turn, and from there talks of this book being the outcome of his realization that he has spent his life observing and commenting on other species, and that it was time to do the same for his own. His conclusions advocate a radically different (at the time) understanding of the human animal, and how things got this way and ends with a very optimistic hope for a return to the wildness that dwells in us all.

This gives a glimpse into the realm of human self-domestication and the domestication forced upon others. Livingston feels strongly that human domestication did not simply begin with agriculture (the domestication of plants and animals), but more so with the taming of fire. I think that something like this makes it more important for an understanding of what led to civilization, and what we should realistically be targeting; this holds true for all critiques of symbolic thought. I can't say for sure that Livingston is actually suggesting that we give up fire, but I think that it is safe to say that is not his objective. He does articulately say, however, that his goal is to recover the wildness that has been domesticated and encaged inside us.

Livingston's approach is all the more impacting, as he is as critical of attempts to "undo" domestication as he is of the domestication itself. He takes a very understanding approach to topics such as animal liberation and offers ways to truly liberate the community of life from civilization. He holds no punches back on reformist, legal movements and even offers substantial arguments against the petitioning for extended "rights," and the downfall of "rights" movements/advocacy.

He offers up examples of "exotic transplants," the planned exportation and importation of plants and animals, which feeds the destruction of environments, and that comes with the expansion of civilization. He offers examples of intentional and unintentional destruction at the hands of enlarging agricultural and industrial societies. He speaks about the "wrecking crew," the group of domesticated animals that have taken on such civilized traits that, like civilization, they can destroy entire ecosystems. This group includes cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, horses, donkeys, dogs, and cats. He gives examples of the kind of hell that has come with these animals even as they have gone feral. This raises a very pertinent question in regards to going feral: how do we know that we won't wreak just as much havoc as our domesticated selves? To this, Livingston offers up some examples that we should be taking interest to.

Livingston's background is academic, but he really found a niche for himself in writing this book. It is far more accessible than his other similar attempts, such as *One Cosmic Instant*, and discusses situations that need to be addressed in the project of moving beyond civilization. He at times takes a misanthropic/deep ecologist slant, but he is conscious of such, and often reminds the reader that this is by no means his intent. The truth of which couldn't become any clearer than in his closing: "Look at a child gently holding an unfledged young robin that has fallen from its nest. Look in that child's eyes. The sweet bondage of wildness is recoverable."

Rogue Primate was published by Roberts Rinehart Publishers in 1994 (hardback, 229 pages) and is now out of print.

(Try combing the used bookstores - hunting and gathering is fun!)

Send us your zines, books, or music to review, or a review of your own of an anarchist, anti-authoritarian, or anti-civilization project. Our space is limited, so please be brief. Thanks

Trespases vol 1. A Journal of Speculative Cartography

Trespases is an annual journal of interdisciplinary writings, visual art, and audio-works. The editorial process is guided by a strong critique of colonialism — particularly its settler state forms — capitalism and all forms of oppression. Experimental and marginal works from outside canonic orthodoxy are a priority, as are those voices commonly silenced in mainstream discourse.

The spaces of the settler state are without place, without language and without a past. Its history is one of forgetting; a cover-up across time. Sometimes it's a photo found in the archives, without documentation; or a scrap of graffiti seen on a passing freight train where hobos have been hiding the last hundred years; the images of warriors in camouflage regalia at a road block defending the people as they reclaim their territories; or words and drawings that cross the prison walls to convey the horror and hope.

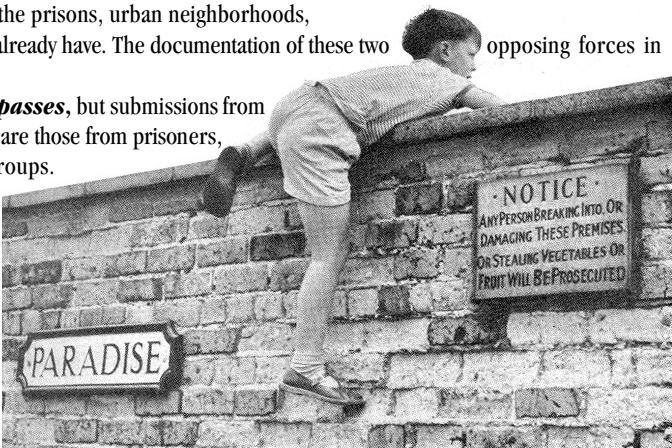
Atomization and alienation characterize contemporary society and are found everywhere. However, attacks on the apparatus of repression and micropolitical alternatives to it are as old as people and are proliferating. Within the prisons, urban neighborhoods, reserves, rural communities, etc. eruptions are taking shape — or already have. The documentation of these two opposing forces in the contemporary and historical contexts are the task at hand.

The geographic area known as Canada is the primary focus of *Trespases*, but submissions from across the Americas and the world are welcome and encouraged, as are those from prisoners, women, queers, indigenous peoples and members of racialized groups.

Being published north of the 49th parallel orients the content towards those places claimed by the Canadian state, however no Canadian content restrictions or borders will be imposed on submissions.

The deadline for all submissions is June 1, 2003.

Contact: Hungry Ghost Press
Box 539, 185-911 Yates St.
Victoria, CST, BC, V8V 4Y9 CANADA
email: hungryghost, prsse@zip. com



OUR JOB IS TO PUT THE BASTARDS OUT OF BUSINESS

BY CRITTER

My intent for writing this brief article is to explain what I feel is the inseparability of the animal and earth liberation movements. I would like to think that the connection between these struggles is obvious. I would also hope the connection between these movements and the struggle against an ever increasingly technological society would also be painfully obvious, but I fear this is not so for many.

No matter how many animals are rescued, no matter how many trees are saved, if the current technological state progresses or even carries on at the rate it is currently destroying the ecosystems all life depends on, life on this planet is doomed. Civilization as we know it depends on the domination and exploitation of every type of “resource” (whether living or habitat for the living) and cannot exist without such exploitation.

Humans were once mostly nomadic, with few exceptions, only settling into permanent villages as plants and animals were domesticated. The exploitation of these life forms allowed the populations of these beginnings of civilization to increase which in turn called for the “need” to further exploit the plant and animal populations and the ecosystems which these lifeforms need to survive.

Flash 10,000 years into the future... today. There are very few places on earth where humans have not tried to (for the most part successfully) form a dominating relationship over the lifeforms which dwell there. The vast majority of the so-called civilized world has been scarred and/or covered over with concrete. The current rate of extinction rivals that of the dinosaurs, and while saving a particular grove of trees or all the hostages at a particular farm is a noble cause, it is like trying to use a band-aid on a sucking chest wound.

If we could save every animal in the world from suffering in factory farms and laboratories, in the long run, what good would it do if there were no wild places left to free them into? Conversely, what would be the point of protecting the last wild spaces if the animals were all domesticated, their wild spirits broken? These struggles are inseparable. All the different aspects of civilization conspire against all that is wild. It is the totality of it, not just one element, that dooms life... that is, if we allow it to continue unabated...

Our struggles cannot ever hope to be effective as long as we each only focus on one aspect of the disease of civilization. We must attack the totality of it every single day. We must be relentless in our struggles, for civilization is ever-progressing on its death march and we cannot allow it to continue to trample over every existing lifeform. We must challenge the assumptions that are integral to the everyday existence of industrial society. We must attack the hubs of the wheels of oppression. The majority of people fighting for the liberation of one lifeform unknowingly or unthinkingly support the oppression of many others everyday. No? Well then it's safe to assume you don't use electricity? I do realize there are necessary evils if we want to be effective in our struggles, such as the use of petro-fuels in igniting huge bonfires in which we can watch corporations go bankrupt, but we must be aware of the negative impacts our actions (and tools) have on ecosystems (both local and distant). I hope I don't sound as if I'm condemning these activities, by all means, burn the fuckers to the ground, just be aware. We cannot carry on with our lives in the manner those who condone civilization (and its inherent destructiveness) have taught us and ever expect to end any form of domination. Civilization from its inception has been rooted in domination, it is dependent on it for its continued survival.

We can continue to debate each other about which being's oppression is most valid to fight against, or maybe we should realize single-issue politics feeds into the divide-and-conquer of our movement(s). Each of us must face the totality and decide whether we want to continue to strike at the fingers of the beast that has all life in a chokehold, or if we need to strike at the head. Don't get me wrong, biting off one of these fingers is never a bad thing, but unless it is part of a larger strategy it is not going to put an end to the human domination of animals and nature.

We will never succeed in convincing corporate interests to stop the exploitation of animals and the earth, it is against their “nature”. We want to protect life at all costs, they want to protect a way of life no matter what the cost. Their job is to make as much money as possible regardless of the suffering, our job is to put the bastards out of business because of the suffering.



ARTWORK BY CRAIG “CRITTER” MARSHALL

Towards An Effective Praxis:

Moving Beyond the Violence/Nonviolence Debate

Praxis-practice, as distinguished from theory; application or use, as in knowledge or skills

This article is written in the spirit of sharing, learning, and opening up dialogue amongst people around the effectiveness of certain direct action tactics and strategy. If a movement is unable to critically examine itself, then it will stagnate and fail. It is a hope that others will write articles in response and addition to this one, furthering discussion around such important issues.

All too often, when people critique the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) or other direct action groups, the criticisms center around the sacredness of property and the “violence” of destroying this property. It becomes an issue of righteousness based upon a morality that has been learned from the oppressor. This violence/nonviolence debate has reared its ugly head to the point of sheer redundancy and is not only stuck, but actually holding back a dialogue which needs to happen:

In issue #8 of the zine *Antipathy*, the effectiveness issue is raised, and this is where this article gains its inspiration, even though there are many disagreements. In an article entitled “*Burning the Church of the Sacred Arsonist: a few reasons parts of the ELF can kiss my ass*” (*BCSA*), the author states, “The only question for those who REALLY care for Earth is: Effective or Ineffective?” and brings up five critiques of the ELF, while making it clear that the actions against the genetics industry have been successful and are not what is being discussed.

On the Effectiveness of Arson

Most opponents of arson hold property sacred and because of that, are unable to ask important questions such as: Did the attack accomplish its goal? Was the goal to shut a place down for good? Is this simply symbolic? The whole violence/nonviolence debate helps create a situation where public proponents of arson (or any tactic) may not criticize it so as not to come across as anti-ELF or anti-direct action. This is a major obstacle in looking critically at tactics and strategy so as to develop a praxis that is effective.

BCSA argues that the torchings of Vail, Superior Lumber, US Timberproducts and Boise Cascade did not really slow any of these companies down, while helping to fuel anti-environmentalist sentiment and the destruction of the Earth. This is based on the idea that these companies are insured and will just rebuild and go on with their practices while communities will be even more pissed off at enviros. Much of that is true. Isolated arsons, like most tactics, are like pissing into the sea. There's a ripple, but then that ripple is absorbed. Where some of that could change is if every time a business was rebuilt, it was torched again to the point where no insurance would cover it. Some fur farms have been hit like this and closed, but some have stayed open too. While *BCSA* brings up many good questions no solutions are proposed.

Other questions that are relevant are: What tactics do slow business/corporations down, or better yet stop them by destroying them while not alienating everyone around? Is it possible? Until there is a strong enough underground movement, the effectiveness right now may lie in inspiring others while doing major damage to earth killers. This might not be the most effective strategy, but what is?

The arsons mentioned earlier did cause major damage and inspire more action which then caused more damage, which inspire more actions...and so on with the hope that enough could happen to bring down the industry. Can an industry be brought down within the bowels of capitalism? Will it be bailed out by the government, like the timber industry receiving huge subsidies? Yes, there are and *will be* bailouts, but that doesn't mean a tactic is ineffective. The oppressor will do whatever it takes to keep industry churning and crush inspiration and action. This translates into promoting the ELF as unaccountable to the people, a fringe group, lunatics who are costing taxpayers money. People who are already alienated can have a scapegoat to be angry at, never asking what the exploitation of the planet is “costing” or who has the boot on their necks. Which is why it is so important for both the underground and aboveground to communicate in ways which are as non-alienating as possible.

Communiqués/Press Releases Are a Broken Model

BCSA says the idea of people caring what “terrorists” have to say is flawed because people don't give a shit and the communiqués sound like some rich college kid from Connecticut. This part is not given much attention and seems to fall into a defeatist attitude that no one would be inspired by the communiqués. Some of the problem surely lies in the content of the communiqués, while much of it lies in how many people even read them, not just the media's extracted portions. There is a whole planet of people who have had enough of being exploited and its quite possible some words may resonate with them. How this could be accomplished seems like a good question for those writing communiqués and those speaking publicly to be asking themselves.

Media Obsession Reinforces Apathy

This is an interesting concept which begs the question: Is the ELF obsessed with the media or is the media obsessed with the ELF? This is not mutually exclusive. ELF actions are capitalized upon by the media which promotes the dichotomy of performers and spectators that is already so prevalent in society. It is always someone else who is acting; a hero who will save the day. Which is why it is so important to dispel the myth of direct action being done by some highly trained commandos (while encouraging security and refinement to stay out of jail!). Can ELF-style actions occur in a way that doesn't play into the media? The media loves arson, but stays very quiet around crop pullings, tree spiking, and other sabotage. Asking why that is and how actions could play into sensationalism needs to be discussed.

Where the whole spokesperson/media thing becomes worrisome is when people begin thinking that only ELF-style actions/direct action are worth anything. So unless you are going to engage in these actions, you may as well not do anything or promote others to take action. Direct actions in and of themselves, isolated from any sort of movement, would probably accomplish nothing but jailtime. That being said, it is questionable that such actions would even occur without a movement. When people in the radical scene dismiss anything that is not militant direct action (as defined by them) as liberal, which is equated to worthless, it becomes an excuse to not do anything at all. The whole question of “what is radical” needs to be redefined in terms other than “what is the most extreme action”. How many times has it been said: All the tools in the box, and certain tools for certain jobs?!

Regurgitating Past Failures

Here *BCSA* focuses on tree spiking. This is a tactic that has publicly reappeared in the last year or two in various parts of the country. It seems very fitting to reopen dialogue about tree spiking. *BCSA* brings up “the fact that tree spiking itself has never stopped a timber sale in the US and was really only an effective public scare tactic directed against radical environmentalists by the wise-use/timber industry tag team.” It goes on to say that since ALL timber mills in Oregon have metal detectors, trees can be felled with spikes in them, and tree spiking alone has NEVER stopped a sale, that “tree spiking is undeniably a tactic with little or no efficacy whatsoever in preserving ecosystems.”

An example is given where in March 2001 the Judie Sale outside Cottage Grove, Oregon, was claimed spiked by the ELF, demanding that the Forest Service cancel the sale. *BCSA* states that since the feds have NEVER cowed to the demands of terrorists, they'd be more likely to push the sale ahead. Or Seneca Jones, the mill who purchased the sale, will file a lawsuit, which will lead to a replacement volume sale, which will have even older trees and be a larger size than the Judie sale. Which means the ELF helped “sound the death knell for the ecosystems unfortunate enough to be within the marked units of the Judie sale and potentially for ecosystems further away from the reach of the urban centric activist scene.” Wow! Those are some serious charges.

This brings up many questions and analysis. The first is that tree spiking ALONE has never stopped a US sale. What tactic alone, in and of itself, has? Lawsuits? Not without some pressure from somewhere outside the courtroom. Blockades? Treesits? Not without help from a lawsuit. Why is tree spiking vehemently deemed ineffective because it supposedly hasn't stopped a sale on its own? How is it known if tree spiking works or does not? It is very difficult to find any info on spiking that is not totally pro or totally against. What about times where it may work?



What would those times be? Like so many tactics, spiking is one more tool that can be used to slow down, and if all goes well, stop trees from being felled. Maybe in time, people will see how spiking affected the Judie sale, and other sales, rather than condemn it right off without knowing what will come about in time. Just because a sale is spiked does not mean a lawsuit cannot be filed on behalf of that sale. Other tactics can possibly work in conjunction with spiking.

Blaming the ELF for the destruction of ecosystems because Seneca Jones or any earth destroyer would push ahead with a sale is ludicrous. When would they not push ahead when challenged? And how is the ELF responsible for actions taken by Seneca Jones? Many times replacement volume sales are awarded after sales are “saved” by lawsuits, blockades, and treesits. And why can’t people go and spike the replacement volume sale while other people publicly denounce replacement volume sales and all timber sales? It is similar to the comment about mills having metal detectors which means spiking is ineffective. Maybe using metal spikes would be ineffective if they were all found in the forest, and cut around (which costs a considerable amount of money) and the detector at the mill found all the spikes. So how to foil a metal detector? Use non metallic spikes. The information is out there on how to do this. These would get through metal detectors and break blades, if the trees were even logged. This is not an attempt to promote a tactic that may not work, it is looking at why tree spiking has been discredited and promoted. Yes, it pisses people off. That is certain. But just look at what the Bush administration is pushing in regards to the forest: death. Does that not piss people off, too? So where does one not act because people may be pissed off?

Ineffective Actions Have Landed Comrades In Jail

BCSA says that comrades are going to jail for ineffective actions that are not worth it. That is such a bold statement which really gets to the heart of the questions this article is asking regarding effectiveness. How is it measured and defined? Are people in jail for actions that seem ineffective? Yes and No. People are being stolen by the State because their actions spark something inside people that scares those in power: rebellion, which has the potential to be revolution. Whether those actions themselves are effective has been mentioned already. Another effect is that people will question why someone who torches SUVs gets more prison time than a rapist or murderer. It is such a loss to see comrades go to prison, taken from their communities. So instead of saying what they did was not worth it, creating a movement that makes it worth it is much more appealing, because it must have seemed worth it to them at the time since they undertook the action.

Wrappin’ It Up

Having a dialogue about the effectiveness of ELF-type actions that moves beyond the violence/nonviolence debate needs to happen. It is important to abandon the rhetoric and ask challenging questions which lead to creative answers so that effective actions will happen. Do people really know what is effective? How? There are many ideas on what works and what does not, so what are they? Our lives and the lives to come depend on it.

Editor’s Note: We hope that this article will help people to think more deeply and critically about the effectiveness of various forms of direct action, tactics, and strategy. While we feel the author of this article brings up many valid criticisms of “Burning the Church of the Sacred Arsonist: a few reasons parts of the ELF can kiss my ass” from issue #8 of the zine Antipathy, we feel that they were not nearly harsh enough. In the past, Antipathy has had some interesting anarchist analysis and personal reflections, but it has always had a (sometimes humorous, but usually annoying) self-righteous, dismissive, and “know it all” approach, without offering anything but ridiculous ideas on how to subvert authority for an insular and nauseating punk scene. The name of the zine could easily be changed to Apathy and most of its inebriated and self-centered following would not even notice. While some are attempting to build a resistance to the death culture, Antipathy seems more interested in building a portfolio as an anarcho-critic and gigolo, while dismissing all meaningful action.

Earth Liberation Actions

"If we are trespassing, so were the people who broke down the gates of Hitler's death camps; If we are thieves, so were the members of the Underground Railroad who freed the slaves of the south; And if we are vandals, so were those who destroyed forever the gas chambers of Buchanwald and Auschwitz." - Anonymous

November 26, Pennsylvania: The ELF Claims Credit For Two Anti-Genetix Actions in A Joint Communiqué

In late November 2002, the ELF released a forceful communiqué taking responsibility for a series of powerful and effective actions against the fur industry. Although we reprinted that communiqué in its entirety in the Winter 2002 issue of *Green Anarchy*, we didn't realize that in an attachment to the main text, the ELF also claimed responsibility for an earlier chain of actions against genetically-modified food crops. Since there haven't been all that many specifically *Anti-Genetix* actions in North America lately, we thought it would be worth publishing this brief statement:

On behalf of another anonymous cell of the Earth Liberation Front, we are also claiming responsibility for the destruction of two GMO corn tests / demonstration crops in northwestern Pennsylvania. Both crops (BT and Roundup-Ready) were destroyed beyond usefulness, and kept from producing seed for future planting. The proliferation of Genetically Modified Organisms and the increased deployment of toxic pesticides into our bioregion presents an unrivaled threat to the biological integrity and diversity of our ecosystem, and has begun to be met with appropriate resistance. ANY GMO/ GE crops planted in this area from this day forth may be targeted by eco-activists.

December 23-24, 2002, Massachusetts: Vandals Target SUVs in Campaign against War and Environmental Devastation

Newton: Someone spray-painted 16 sport utility vehicles with anti-war and environmentalist slogans. Police said they have no leads about who left messages such as “no blood for oil” and “I’m changing the environment” in red and black paint on the cars. The vandalism started on December 23 with eight late-night incidents. Each of the vehicle owners who reported vandalism owned SUVs, including a GMC Yukon, a Lexus SUV and a Chevy Blazer. Each phrase was sprayed on the rear of the vehicle. “No Blood for Oil” was sprayed on each of the first eight cars, but as Christmas Eve rolled around, the vandal(s) expanded the sloganeering. Phrases ranged from “No Oil” to “Gas Guzzler” and “I’m changing the Environment.” According to police reports, the vandal chose two vehicles in each specific area to vandalize. For example, the vandal painted a 1995 Chevy Blazer with “No Blood For Oil” on the rear tire cover on Clarendon Street early on the morning of December 23, and a 2000 Honda CRV with the same phrase the same night. On Pulsifer Street, also in the early morning, a white Ford pickup truck and another Honda CRV were painted with the same phrase. Police said the only plan of attack would be to increase patrols. The vandal, according to police reports, is suspected to be an anarchist. Sprayed on two cars, an Acura utility vehicle and a Chevy Yukon, was the letter “A” with a circle around it: the sign for anarchy. Similar incidents were reported in Bloomington, Ind., in 2001 and in Richmond, VA, in November.

December 28, 2002, Pennsylvania: ELF Targets Housing Development in Northeast Philly

Philadelphia: In what was likely its final act of 2002, the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) has claimed an action in Northeast Philadelphia targeting urban sprawl and the development of “luxury houses.” Construction vehicles and a show home were damaged by “long-time residents of Philadelphia...who are tired of seeing the earth destroyed for money.” The ELF Press Office received the letter of claim (see below) via a Philadelphia newspaper. Although the letter does not claim this as an ELF action, graffiti at the housing development site indicates that this was the work of the ELF. This action took place December 28th, 2002. The following is the letter sent to the media: *Greetings. Recently, we visited a housing construction site in Northeast Philadelphia, along Rhawn St., to give a Christmas present to the developers. There, what was natural land - and a home for birds, squirrels, deer, et cetera - is now a sprawling pit of mud. Others' attempts at stopping this devastation failed; we felt the only thing we could do, and the thing that felt right, was to fight back for those who can't. So we went to the site and attacked construction vehicles however we were able to - glued locks, sugared gas tanks, disconnected hoses, spray painted vehicles, broke windows. Also we attacked the "sample house" on Rhawn St. - the first house built, to attract buyers. We covered the walls in spray paint, glued locks, and broke many windows. We are not "terrorists." We are not teenage vandals. We are middle-aged, long-time residents of Philadelphia/the suburbs who are tired of seeing the earth destroyed for money. New housing units (and these are "luxury houses," starting at \$200,000) are not needed; tens of thousands*

of housing units in Philadelphia are vacant, or for sale. There is no excuse for the terrorism of developers, destroying the little bit of natural land left for money. We will not sign our names, but we want to. If construction is stopped and the woods allowed to grow back, we will turn ourselves in gladly. We pray the destruction of developers in Philadelphia/the suburbs is stopped - and that our kids don't grow up in a concrete world, built over ashes of the destroyed earth.

**- "Sally and Peter"
Philadelphia/suburbs**

January 1, 2003: ELF Torchers SUVs in Erie, Pennsylvania!

The Earth Liberation Front, an international underground movement that uses direct action in the form of economic sabotage to stop the destruction of the natural environment, has taken credit for their first North American action of 2003 with the destruction of several SUVs at a Pennsylvania auto dealership. Reprinted below is the full communiqué that was released on January 2:

At 5:30 AM on January 1, 2003, the Earth Liberation Front attacked several SUV's at Bob Ferrando Ford Lincoln Mercury in Erie, Pennsylvania. At least four vehicles were entirely destroyed and several others sustained heavy damage, costing an estimated \$90,000.

Despite decades of popular environmental activism, the mainstream environmental movement, which began arguably in the early 1960s, has failed in its attempts to bring about the protection needed to stop the destruction of life on this planet. In many ways, it has served only to accelerate this destruction. Its occasional "victories", reforms or small concessions, have fostered hope in a means of social change that has proven unable to produce tangible protection of life, time after time.

By focusing its energy on temporary "solutions", they have altogether ignored the roots of the problem at hand. Western civilization, with its throwaway conveniences, its status symbols, and its unfathomable hoards of financial wealth, is unsustainable, and comes at a price. Its pathological decadence, fueled by brutality and oceans of bloodshed, is quickly devouring all life and undermining the very life support systems we need to survive. The quality of our air, water and soil continues to decrease as more and more life forms on the planet suffer and die as a result. We are in the midst of a global environmental crisis that adversely affects and directly threatens every human, every animal, every plant, and every other life form on the face of the Earth.

There is absolutely no excuse for any one of us, out of greed, to knowingly allow this to continue. There is a direct relationship between our irresponsible over-consumption and lust for luxury products, and the poverty and destruction of other people and the Natural world. By refusing to acknowledge this simple fact, supporting this paradigm with our excessive lifestyles, and failing to offer direct resistance, we make ourselves accomplices in the greatest crime ever committed.

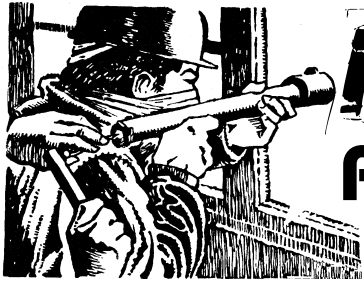
Time is running out—change must come, or eventually all will be lost. A belief in state sanctioned legal means of social change is a sign of faith in the legal system of that same state. We have absolutely no faith in the legal system of the state when it comes to protecting life, as it has repeatedly shown itself to care far more for the protection of commerce and profits than for people and the natural environment. Clearly, the State itself causes and profits from many of the various atrocities against life that we must struggle against. To place faith in that same state as though it will act in the interests of justice and life is utter foolishness and a grave mistake.

Therefore, the ELF will continue to fight to remove the profit motive from the killing of the natural environment, and to draw public attention to that which is deliberately concealed from them by the forces that control our lives and destroy our home.

We urge our sisters and brothers—let us strive to become the revolutionary force we've always spoken of being, and begin to take control of our lives out of the hands of those who would destroy us.

**NO COMPROMISE
Happy New Year Bob Ferrando - ELF**

Editors note: The ELF has been cleaning house in the Pennsylvania bioregion for over a year now, beginning with (to the best of our knowledge) their March 17, 2002 action against a road construction site (see Green Anarchy # 9 for more details.) It would be nice to see ELF actions start to increase in other bioregions, though, to take some of the heat off our unknown comrades in the northeast. Remember, decentralization and unpredictability are the greatest advantages we have over our enemy!



REVOLUTIONARY WRATH!

Anarchist Resistance from Around The Planet

"The days of this society are numbered; its reasons and its merits have been weighed in the balance and found wanting; its inhabitants are divided into two parties, one of which wants this society to disappear." - Guy Debord

Anarchy is not another post-Enlightenment European philosophy nor is it a utopian political system born out of "liberal" thought. Anarchy bears no resemblance to the theories of Marx, Engels, or to the "Jeffersonian" values that are so celebrated by bourgeois historians. Anarchy is, rather, a mode of existence characterized by the absence of government, the absence of rulers, the absence of domination. The anarchist struggle is one between rationalized order and revolutionary chaos, between automated technocracy and uncaged wildness. It is a power struggle between a mechanistic, efficiency-oriented, and profit-gearred system and a positive, liberating nihilism aimed at breaking down the barriers of machines, laws and social customs that divide humans from all other organisms around them. It is, in short, a war between free life and the forces of control and extinction. All political ideologies have failed us, leaving only the growing anti-political anarchistic battle for the future of the planet.

January 17, 2003, Italy: Anarchists Smash ATM Machines in Solidarity with the Victims of Repression

Sixty ATMs in dozens of locations throughout northern Italy were vandalized. Messages claiming the attacks appeared sporadically at the sites of the attacks, sometimes in anonymous messages to the Digos (special political police). The flyers claiming the attacks spoke of the repressive nature of prisons, solidarity with people arrested at anti-globalization demonstrations, and various other matters. The actions are attributed to individuals of "the extreme area of the anarchist archipelago, that to the insurrectionists."

January 18, 2003, California: Two Thousand Anarchists Go On Rampage During Anti-War Demo

San Francisco: Thousands of protestors marched, danced and sprinted through the streets of San Francisco shouting slogans against war, racism and capitalism. The protestors were part of a breakaway march from the larger permitted rally organized by A.N.S.W.É.R. (Act Now to Stop War and End Racism) which brought out approximately 200,000 demonstrators. After the permitted march got to its destination, about two thousand demonstrators broke off

and proceeded on a militant and well-planned march through the streets of the city. Throughout the march, they targeted a number of symbols of the current capitalist war. They stopped at the building that holds the *San Francisco Chronicle*, a major newspaper, notorious for its right-wing slant. Masked speakers on a megaphone pointed out how the coverage from this newspaper, and from the capitalist media in general, serve to bolster the US war effort at the same time as other masked protestors conveyed this message by tagging the building with "weapon of mass destruction," among other messages. Next, the building that houses the British consulate was tagged, with protestors stressing the international nature of the struggle against war and capitalism, and calling for similar actions by the people of Britain against the capitalists there. Protestors are well aware that Tony Blair is, as one person at the event put it, "Bush's Poodle." Protestors punctuated their message by smashing a number of windows. One spray-painted slogan read "UK out of Iraq! Burn the State!" The breakaway march wound its way through the city, using a number of sophisticated tactics to out-manuever the police. As they moved along, more and more newspaper boxes were knocked into the street, and through the windows of a Starbucks and a Victoria's Secret. The high point of the demonstration was in attacks on the building that houses the Federal government's Immigration and Naturalization Service. Numerous windows were broken and a cement pylon and a newspaper box were thrown through the INS building's glass front doors. After September 11 of last year, media, critics and politicians gloated about what they saw as the death of radical street protests in the United States. The more conservative elements of the anti-globalization movement were frightened by a possible confrontation or worse, saw it as a time to stick together

and offer "critical support" to the United States government. At the same time the radicals were targeted with stronger and more aggressive policing, and international financial institutions such as the World Trade Organization held their meetings in countries with repressive regimes that do not allow protest. But the radicals in the anti-globalization movement were never just protesting "globalization"; they were opposed **to capitalist globalization**. This analysis has transferred easily into anti-war organizing. Maybe smug critics and politicians were wrong. We are witnessing a rebirth of the radical street demonstrations in the US. As one black-clad and masked protestor said that day, "The anti-globalization movement is dead, but the anti-capitalist movement is alive and well."



A gasoline bomb explodes near Greek pigs at anti-war protest in Athens on Feb 15, 2003.

January 19, 2003, Italy: Open Season on Ski Resorts

On January 19, a fire devastated the chairlift of a notorious ski resort in Abetone, Pistoia, Italy. Ninety cabins burned. Damages were estimated at \$7,000,000. A slogan spray painted at the site said, "Fire to Destructors — Free Marco!"

A communique sent to news agencies claimed the action in defense of the mountains and in solidarity with ecodefence prisoner Marco Camenisch, now on hunger strike in his jail cell in Switzerland. Marco Camenisch has been jailed for blast attacks against the nuclear industry in Switzerland. He was imprisoned but escaped to Italy where he was recaptured after several years. He was then accused of damaging powerlines. He has been transferred back to Swiss jails to finish his years of imprisonment and to await trial where he is accused of murder of a border guard.

On the same night, two more actions, a bomb at a large TV antenna and the torching of a mobile phone tower, were claimed in solidarity with Marco.

Direct Action in Navarre's River "Irati" Region

We write to all Green Anarchists from a certain valley in Navarre (Basque Country) as activists of the local land squatting scene and as supporters of I'aki Garcia Koch, an earth liberation prisoner, who has been in prison for 18 months in the city of Pamplona.

Around 1943, General Franco's government in Madrid finally threw out the last traditionally producing peasants from these mountains. Before this date, the vast majority of campesino families and clans had as little contact with modern 'progress' as imaginable in Western Europe. Economically the village communities had definite pre-capitalist subsistence-crop systems. The State could not be felt in these places. On the other hand, the Catholic Church, as the only institution that managed to get control over the individuals living there, damaged seriously the traditional Basque self-government on the level of village councils.

After 1959, the WMF and World Bank started to give credits to the fascist government under the condition of the Spanish State producing cellulose (and permitting direct investment in Mediterranean tourism). So, the valleys abandoned by the humans were filled with pine trees. The fascist development program also included megalomaniac infrastructural projects in the Pyrenees, in our case the huge "ITOIZ" dam project, which the following governments finally started to build in 1985. The water reservoirs in the Pyrenees are supposed to deliver uncontaminated water to the Mediterranean coast, parallel to the stinky heavy-metal river Ebro, where Irati's water is heading to naturally.

Since 1980 we have been squatting in these villages, which were abandoned for decades without human attention, in the former buildings founded in the 11th century, now ruins. In the 90's a second generation of mostly urban socialized anarchists started up six more land squatting projects. As we are now re-building the ruins and re-opening the gardens, we try to live anarchist communism - recovering pre-capitalist sustainable production modes. We want to live using technologies, but only together with the struggle for independence from petrol companies etc. This means that we understand, install, and repair technologies by ourselves, without paying money to anybody. The big exception to this are some old vans which we use for transports, and that are legally registered.

Since 1999 we have had eviction orders and the declaration of Navarra's government that they will be willing to destroy the squatted villages entirely. So far this has not been carried out.

Since 1994 we've seen direct action against the Itoiz dam project, in addition to the legal campaigns run since 1985. After a series of non-violent and public actions in construction sites, offices, and monuments, on April 6th 1996, 8 "Soliarios con Itoiz" cut

some 800 m long steel cables with Rotaflex motorsaws. The action caused costs of millions of Euros and paralyzed the project for 11 months. The activists were filmed during the whole action and stood on the site waiting to be arrested and for police boots in their stomachs.

The politics of public action can be understood in the permanent climate of the War against Terrorism which absolutely dominates the media and the repression (torture and isolation) of the Spanish State. The 8 activists were condemned to 5 years of prison each by a judicial farce. They went underground after the long court process ended in '99. The group then started an action tour to prominent monuments in European capitals. 7 are still in exile outside of Spain.

Only I'aki Garcia Koch was caught in June 2001, classified as a terrorist ("FIES-3") and held in isolation for 12 months, until the campaign and the lawyer fought the re-classification. There is a campaign going on for his freedom and for canceling the 8 penalties.

Meanwhile the concrete walls near Itoiz are finished. The government is deaf to prominent engineers' serious warnings that the dam will BREAK when they fill the reservoir, putting thousands of beings in serious danger, as well as the "ASCà" nuclear power plant downstream the river Ebro. The next steps are the finishing of new roads, the cutting of 1 million trees on the 1,100 hectares of the planned reservoir, and the eviction of the last 2 of the 9 villages that are supposed to be underwater. All this is accompanied by the largest militarization per inhabitant that is known in Spain, while different forms of social-ecologist protest are going on.

We definitely would like to have more exchange and mutual solidarity with other movements. The best for us is collaboration with the long-term empowerment of our squatting communities. All Green Anarchists are warmly invited to get to know our valley. Although it is honest to remind you that our communities function in Spanish (and Basque) and that it'll be more easy to organize in these languages.

If you want to distribute the SOLIDARI@S CON ITOIZ action videotape, or for any other comment, contact to us.

FREE IYAKI! POR ITOIZ NO PASARµN!

Grupo de Apoyo a I'aki (GAI) Iyaki support group
address: GAI, Apdo. 35, E-31430 Aoiz (Navarra)

Every morning I wake up and wonder what I should do...

**February 15, 2003, Oregon:
Anarchists Attack Army Recruiting Station**

Portland: From the communiqué: *In the wee morning hours of Saturday the fifteenth, a small group of anarchists targeted the huge conglomerate recruitment center on SE 82nd Street. Undaunted by the bright lights of the shopping center, the group threw bricks at the windows and spray painted "no war but the class war" on the concrete. The action was in solidarity with the millions of people rallying worldwide against the war on Saturday, and served to draw attention to recruitment's fascist targeting of minorities, young people and people living in poverty. The anarchists feel that military recruitment is a large and highly ignored part of US imperialism, and as we speak recruiting centers are sucking the bio-mass from poor neighborhoods near you and feeding it into the war machine. The action was autonomous, spontaneous and unaffiliated with any group.*

**February 15, 2003, Greece:
Anarchists Up The Ante At Anti-War Demonstrations**

Athens: Riot police fired tear gas at demonstrators who threw stones and several petrol bombs at them during a rally against a U.S.-led war on Iraq. Dozens of masked anarchists splintered from a main body of up to 50,000 demonstrators gathered in the Greek capital, smashing several windows and burning a parked car. In the main northern city of Thessaloniki, protesters threw stones at the U.S. consulate and police also used tear gas. In Athens, the violence broke out in the main Syntagma Square across from the Greek parliament, where the windows of several banks and shops were broken. Two newspaper offices were also attacked. Police fired volleys of tear gas, which wafted through the area sending shoppers scurrying for safety. In Patras, 4,000 people demonstrated against the war and a block of about 300 anarchists threw yogurt and eggs at the British consulate, the courthouse, a bank and a local government building. The majority of people in Greece strongly oppose American imperialism and military action against Iraq.

**February 15, 2003, England:
Anarchists Breach World Service Headquarters**

London: The BBC has instigated a wide-ranging security review after up to 50 anarchists barged their way into the headquarters of the World Service. Some members of the group were said to have roamed around Bush House in Aldwych for some time before being rounded up. World Service managers are said to have been aghast at the intrusion, which came less than two years after the Real IRA detonated a bomb outside BBC Television Center in west London. The incident raised concerns that the World Service could be the target of a violent attack. The security response to this recent incident, which had been kept secret until the BBC was contacted by the *Guardian*, was described as "woeful". Sources say 40 to 50 intruders entered the Bush House early morning, easily overcoming

security guards. They are said to have penetrated deep into the building, including the offices of one of the foreign language services. One source said some managed to get on to the roof and replace the BBC flag with an anarchist black flag. The ease with which the intruders overcame "minimal" security at Bush House has caused alarm at the BBC. Security measures at the BBC Television Center at White City were tight before the Real IRA bomb: glass security doors replaced turnstiles after an intruder entered the television newsroom in 1999.

February 16, 2003, California: Anarchists Go On the Offensive During International Day of Action Against the War

San Francisco: A group of demonstrators broke away from the huge crowd at the SF Civic Center area at the end of a huge anti-war march and



Car set ablaze at anti-war demonstration in Athens on Feb. 15, 2003.

clashed later with police during a 4-hour confrontation marked by hit-and-run acts of destruction. Members of the group broke windows at several businesses and on a pair of police cars during their rampage. They spray-painted buildings and other objects with graffiti. They burned trash, climbed onto a cable car, and later tossed bottles and other objects at mounted police who were trying to control them. At one point, the group - which began with about 1,000 people and dwindled to about 200 - took over several busy streets in the financial district. Police said two officers were injured during the confrontation and taken to the hospital, where they were treated and released. The breakaway crowd was mostly made up of an anarchist Black Bloc. The group pulled out of the Civic Center area when the main demonstration was all but finished and many of the original participants had left the area. Around 4 p.m., a group that estimated at around 1,000 began marching into the financial district. Individuals from the group broke windows at McDonald's and Old Navy, as well as the window front at Abercrombie & Fitch in the SF Center. A dozen or so protestors also ran through the main entrance to the mall and threw rocks at some stores to try and break windows, without success. The protestors also broke out the windows of two SFPD patrol cars. Using bullhorns, police declared the gathering an unlawful assembly, warning people they would be arrested if they did not disperse. Some protestors left and others began throwing objects - bottles, sticks and garbage - at police on horseback. The terrified horses began bumping against each other and finally, the mounted officers galloped away to cheers from the crowd. The dwindling group was boxed-in by police into the center of the intersection, and police began arresting some of them and placing them in sheriff's vans.

VIOLENCE AS NECESSITY

Throughout the prison camps known as schools one often hears the age-old adage "sticks and stones may break my bones, but words will never hurt me." This assertion that words do not hurt operates as a front — a façade which domesticated people use as defense when bullies cut them down.

Sticks and stones do not hurt much in comparison to the psychological damage inflicted by name-calling. People should resort to violence more often as a way to avoid psychological beat-downs for a couple of reasons; they are the following: 1. When you are in a fight your mind slices through the social conditioned crap, thus you revert to the primal way of life, becoming an animal (as you know all animals are vastly superior to any civilized human). 2. Your senses become enhanced and your mind gets cleansed.

One must be fully certain that his or her target deserves the act of violence that s/he commits. When violence is just, it's beautiful, but when it is not deserved, it's uglier than sin. One must also realize the repulsiveness of institutional violence, such as the military; people who serve in the military go to far away places and kill people who they do not know. In these cases violence is not used for self-defense, but rather as a method of smoothing problems out in order for the system to run more effectively. For example, the U.S. shall attack Iraq for oil, the main resource that keeps the techno-industrial system running.

Pacifism serves as a tool of the system; the more people are pacified, the better the system operates. Violence, when used properly, attacks the all-encompassing system. Bear in mind that any success through pacifism (such as Indian resistance to British rule) occurred in an entirely different context than today.

So, if you desire to fight the powers that be, train yourself in the usage of deadly weapons, and other survival skills (e.g. know the wild edible plants in your bioregion). This isn't hard to do. Go to gun shows, check out some useful books — more importantly, train yourself, because reading material pales in comparison to actual experience. If your library (basically the only good thing that a democratic regime produces) does not have any good books, you should use what is called an interlibrary loan. Also, get plenty of exercise, and eat healthy. In short, prepare for the fall (it's coming soon).

- Pat Rock

A SWARM OF BUTTERFLIES: A FIERCE DEFENSE OF CHAOS IN DIRECT ACTION

Despite the tremendous successes we've had in the past few years, several recent anarchist mobilizations have been hijacked by a shrill minority that wishes to impose permits, routes, parade marshals (e.g. peace police), zones of actions and other such nonsense, turning our rage and creativity into a well-ordered media spectacle: or worse, mass arrest. The constant and insincere calls for "solidarity" and protecting others have turned our once raucous resistance into an exercise of well-organized crowd control.

But it hasn't always been like this...

Just a few years ago the military's pet think tank RAND organization wrote: "Anarchists [in Seattle 1999] using extremely good modern communications, including live internet feeds, were able to execute simultaneous actions by means of pulsing and swarming tactics coordinated by networked and leaderless 'affinity groups.' Rather it became an example of the challenges that hierarchical organizations face when confronting networked adversaries with faster reaction cycles. This loosely organized coalition, embracing network organization and tactics, frustrated police efforts to gain the situational awareness needed to combat the seemingly chaotic Seattle disturbance."

RAND concludes that there is little that hierarchical organizations like the police can do to deal with such chaotic tactics. In addition, they sound the alarm that our types of groups facilitate rapid evolution of tactics and promote greater recruiting opportunities than traditional demonstrations.

We gain nothing returning to the tactics of ten years ago: the scripted, bland and boring traditional leftist demonstrations of parade routes, leaders, speakers, and marshals. What we need is creative, decentralized, and most of all, chaotic action.

One tactic used in Seattle and elsewhere that utilizes chaos is "pulsing." Pulsing is the ability of groups of people to come together, disperse to safety and reform in new groups. While this is similar to the guerrilla tactic of "absorption," there is an important difference.

Che's notion of "absorption" is simply when a "force attacks the enemy for a period of time and then breaks off the attack being absorbed into the community or environment" from where it came. Pulsing is a constant flow of people joining, breaking up and rejoining, often in new combinations of groups. The most successful way this can be done is through small decentralized autonomous groups (e.g. affinity groups) that have the decision-making power to decide for themselves when and with whom to interact.

RAND points out that pulsing makes crowd control very difficult because it keeps "rearranging the threats" and that there is no prearranged pattern that police can analyze and neutralize. This unpredictability is the cornerstone of chaos theory.

A biological example beloved by chaos theorists is bacteria. Bacteria function in pulses, creating ever-new patterns of connections. Chaos thinker Planc wrote, "Each pattern is organic and results from random forces in the environment. The ever-changing collection and density [pulsing] of bacteria makes their organizations very durable and adaptable."

"Swarming" is another way we can inject chaos into our actions. Swarming is the tactic of hitting a number of targets at the same time without following a pre-set pattern. Decentralized swarming frustrates law enforcement's ability to protect targets and disrupt our activities. They are forced into "reaction" as opposed to their goal of "controlling the agenda for protests." Again, the only way for this to work with thousands of people is for us to organize in a radically decentralized manner; decentralizing work and actions by the channels of affinity groups to be utilized best, so that the groups select actions that match their interests and abilities.

In demonstrations, hierarchical organizations are quickly overwhelmed when their central nervous system is confronted by the chaos caused by unpredictable, pulsing swarms. Anarchists can take advantage of these matrices of opportunity opened up by autonomous groups, giving us a huge advantage over slow reacting, hierarchical groups like police.

Both pulsing and swarming inject the crucial element of chaos into our demonstrations. Police are repulsed by chaos, as are all hierarchical organizations, and thus are slower to react. These tactics provide affinity groups opportunities that they could have never planned for: like liberating an unguarded dumpster next to a checkpoint that can be turned into a battering ram or finding an unlocked service entrance into a hotel where IMF delegates are staying.

Chaos also allows small actions to be multiplied and expanded on. Even small initial changes can accumulate quickly creating profound and unlikely changes just as a butterfly flapping its wings in Argentina may cause a hurricane in New York.

We are not robots, we are not pawns of organizers: we are a pulsing swarm of creative and free butterflies. We are fighting for our lives and dancing to be free.

Curious George Brigade International Anarchist Cabal

*This article is from the Cincinnati anarchist publication
The Female Species; copies can be obtained by writing:
thefemalespecies@hotmail.com*



LIFE DURING WARTIME!

Anti-Capitalist and Anti-Imperialist Battles

"The sit-ins, the lie-ins, the crawl-ins, the cry-ins, the beg-ins are all outdated" - Malcolm X

It's hard to think of another time when there has been such a pronounced gulf between armchair intellectuals and activists; between the theorists of revolution and its attempted practitioners. Writers who for years have been publishing essays that sound like position papers for vast social movements that do not in fact exist seem seized with confusion or worse, dismissive contempt, now that real ones are emerging everywhere. The rift between passively-contemplative academics and revolutionaries is nowhere more obvious than in the case of what's still, for no particularly good reason, referred to as the "anti-globalization" movement, one that has in a mere two or three years managed to transform completely the sense of historical possibilities for millions across the planet.

This may be the result of sheer ignorance, or of relying exclusively on what might be gleaned from such overtly hostile, pro-capitalist "news" sources like the *New York Times*; then again, most of what's written in supposedly "alternative" papers also seems largely to miss the point of what participants in the "anti-globalization" movement feel is most important and dynamic about it. Much of the hesitation to fully embrace the growing international anti-capitalist movement lies in the reluctance of those who have long fancied themselves radicals of some sort to come to terms with the fact that they are really liberals: interested in expanding individual freedoms and pursuing "social justice", but not in ways that would seriously challenge reigning institutions like Capital or the State. And even many who would like to see revolutionary change are not entirely happy about having to accept that most of the creative energy for radical politics is now coming from anarchy—a tradition and a perspective that they have hitherto mostly dismissed—and that taking this new movement seriously will necessarily mean a respectful engagement with it.

What separates the current "anti-globalization" movement from previous "protest" movements is its emphasis on **direct action**. The very notion of direct action, with its rejection of a politics that appeals to governments to modify their behavior, in favor of physical intervention against state power in a form that itself prefigures an alternative -- all of this emerges directly from the anarchist tradition. Anarchy is the heart of this new movement, its soul; the source of what's so energizing and hopeful about it.

But however you choose to trace the origins of strategies like the "Black Bloc" and economic sabotage, these new tactics are perfectly in accord with the general anarchistic inspiration of the "anti-globalization" movement, which has nothing to do with seizing state power and is more about exposing, de-legitimizing and dismantling mechanisms of rule while winning ever-larger spaces of autonomy from it. After nearly half a century of slumber and dormancy, anarchy has reappeared on the world stage just where it had been at the end of the 19th century, as an international movement at the very center of revolutionary struggle.

Yet it would be inaccurate and Euro-centric to give anarchists all the credit for the present strength and vitality of the "anti-globalization" movement, when just as many (and perhaps more) contributions to its growth and development have been made by indigenous communities of resistance. International resistance movements of the past usually ended up exporting western organizational models to the rest of the world; in this case, the flow if anything has been the other way around. Many of the "anti-globalization" movement's signature strategies were first developed in the global South. In the long run, this may well prove to be the single most radical thing about it.

November 17, 2002, Greece: Greeks Riot against State Tyranny at Annual Anti-Fascist March

Athens: Outnumbering police forces by just two to one, some 10,000 people took part in the annual march commemorating the November 17, 1973, Polytechnic student revolt, which was augmented by rioting anarchists and leftists. Police said some 300 youths joined the main body of marchers, who were heading from the Patission St Polytechnic complex to the US Embassy. They threw sticks, stones and flares at police outside Parliament, and targeted riot squad officers at the War Museum and the Hilton Hotel with Molotov cocktails. Rioters set up barricades of chairs seized from local cafes at Mavili Square, near the US Embassy, smashed the entrances to six blocks of flats, broke two car windscreens and burnt down a bus company ticket booth before being chased off by police using tear gas. In a similar march in Thessaloniki that day, a state TV cameraman was injured by rioting youths, several of whom were detained.

December 19-20, 2002, Argentina: Protests Mark Anniversary

Buenos Aires: Thousands of demonstrators marched on December 19 to the Plaza de Mayo to commemorate the first anniversary of a popular uprising that prompted the resignation of President Fernando de la Rúa and led to a wave of violence, looting and state repression that killed 25 people. While the march and rally remained peaceful, some marchers blocked access to banks and currency exchange businesses along the route, and threw a paint bomb at the entrance of the Buenos Aires stock market. Demonstrators also burned effigies of President Eduardo Duhalde and former President Carlos Saúl Menem. Thousands of police agents were deployed to handle security during the activities of December 19-20, but they kept a low profile. Many banks, stores and other businesses closed early and boarded up their windows to avoid being targeted by protesters. Smaller demonstrations also took place on December 20 in other Argentine cities: some 7,000 marched in San Salvador de Jujuy, capital of the northwestern province of Jujuy. In Córdoba, capital of Córdoba Province, some 1,500 marched; one group of marchers broke off from the crowd and threw rocks at a McDonalds restaurant and the offices of Telecom. In Santa Fe Province, thousands marched in the provincial capital, where nine people were killed in the uprising a year earlier, and 1,000 marched in the city of Rosario. On December 20 in Lomas de Zamora in Buenos Aires Province, unidentified individuals threw pamphlet bombs at a Citibank branch and an office of the Spanish telecommunications company Telefónica. Messages left at both sites referred to the December 20 anniversary and the "struggle of our people."

December 30, 2002, Philippines: Blast Defaces Marcos Bust

Tuba: A powerful bomb defaced a giant stone bust of deceased dictator Ferdinand Marcos on a northern Philippine hillside, blowing off its eyes and nose. The explosion tore open a hole and ripped off the eyes, nose, ears and most of the upper part of the 100-foot-high bust but unfortunately, didn't topple it completely from the top of a cliff overlooking the South China Sea.

December 30, 2002, Turkey: Protesters Burn Imperialist Flags

Istanbul: About 3,000 protesters burned American, British and Israeli flags during a demonstration against a possible US-led war in neighboring Iraq. NATO member Turkey is a close US ally, but anti-war sentiment runs high among its people (as it seems to all over the planet, if recent mass demonstrations are an indication of anything). Turkey is currently holding talks with US military officials but has not yet committed to allowing the use of Turkish territory or air bases in a war against Iraq. This being the case, the Turkish people have a crucial role to play in sabotaging the American Empire's latest imperialist venture, as do all of us here in the mechanical heart of the power structure.

January 23, 2003, Indiana: Military Offices Attacked

Indianapolis: The following is the communiqué released anonymously on the Internet: *The offices of the Coast Guard and Army Recruitment were trashed. The walls were spray-painted with "Fuck Your War" and close to ten large office windows were broken. Two government vehicles were spray-painted and the windows broken. The political, military, and economic rulers of the US continue a "war on terrorism" which is nothing more or less than the capitalist war against the poor and working people of the world. Oil companies and weapon manufacturers capitalize on more starving and dead Iraqi people just as they have in Afghanistan, Columbia, Philippines, and many other parts of the world where disaffected people are resisting the brutal capitalist regime. We will not ask or beg the politicians and generals in Washington, D.C. for justice and peace. We know the peace and justice of capitalism and state power is based upon the misery and death of many. We fight the march to war as we fight a world run against us.*

January 30, 2003, Ohio: Antiwar Slogans Appear on Billboards

Cincinnati: Eight billboards along Interstate 75 carried additional messages for commuters - spray-painted graffiti opposing a U.S. war with Iraq. Under a billboard for Rolex watches was the line: "No time for war, no time for hate." Under a "Vote No To Pot ... Roast" billboard was the message "Impeach Bush. Stop the oil war." Norton Outdoor Advertising of Cincinnati owned four of the billboards. Owner Tom Norton referred to the incidents as "commercial terrorism." Dan Norton, vice president of operations, said the company was able to

paint over some of the graffiti, but that some of the billboards would have to be re-papered at a cost of thousands of dollars. "There's quite a bit of damage back there," Dan Norton said. "In one case they shut off the electric so the lights were off (while they painted the graffiti). In another case they needed a 32-foot ladder to get up there. They did just what they needed to do."

February 4, 2003, Ireland: Plowshare Activists Arrested for Disarming US Plane

Shannon: In late January, an Irish peace activist took a hammer to a US Navy plane in Shannon Airport, causing hundreds of thousands of dollars in damages. She is currently on remand awaiting trial for this action. On February 2, five Catholic Workers/Ploughshares activists cut their way into the airport and poured human blood on the runway that has been servicing US military flights, troop and munitions deployments to US military bases in Kuwait and Qatar. The five constructed a shrine on the runway to Iraqi children killed and threatened by the Bush/Blair war machine and sanctions. The shrine consisted of religious articles, flowers, and photographs of Iraqi children. They then began to take up the destruction of the runway, working on its edge with hammers. Having disarmed the runway, the activists turned their attention to a hanger housing a US Navy plane which was under repair from the previous action. The plane was disarmed; the hanger was dismantled; and the message "Pit stop of death" was painted on the hanger's roller door. At this point all five activists were arrested. Since their arrests the five have refused to co-operate with bail conditions, have initiated a fast for peace and a call for mass nonviolent resistance to Irish complicity in the forthcoming war on Iraq. It has also been reported that following these two Ploughshares style actions the military has deployed over 100 armed troops to guard its planes at Shannon airport. For more info about what's happening at Shannon contact the local peace activists at: shannonpeacecamp@hotmail.com.

Editors note: *Although we have serious personal issues with the religious and moral motivations of many activists connected with the Plowshare and Catholic Workers movements (as well as strategic differences concerning the policy of waiting around to be arrested), we can't help but have a certain degree of respect for their tenacity and commitment. It's also hard to deny that the Plowshares movement is taking the rapidly approaching war with Iraq a lot more seriously than most American anarchists are.*

February 16, 2003, Florida: Military Train Vandalism Hits Authorities off Guard

Jacksonville: Military authorities and police are investigating the theft, vandalism and arson overnight to a train carrying support equipment for the Army's 101st Airborne Division. The train -- carrying the military equipment to the port at Blount Island for shipment to the Persian Gulf -- was stopped about 2:30 a.m. as it approached a rail yard when the incident happened. Investigators with local police, the FBI, the Army, the Department of Defense Search and railroad police searched the train to determine exactly what was stolen. Authorities said the items taken included tools, batteries, gas cans, and even field rations. Some of what was stolen was thrown near the tracks and set on fire. Channel 4's Tammy Fields found a trail of meals-ready-to-eat packages, some of them opened, leading into an apartment complex by the tracks. CSX officials said that the railroad police provide special security to military shipments, and patrol the tracks around-the-clock. The FBI and Jacksonville Sheriff's Office both said they are not the lead agency in the investigation, but didn't know who was.

Editor's note: *We failed at obtaining further information on this unclaimed action, but sincerely hope that more dissidents here in the states begin employing tactics like this against the military-industrial machine. Incidents like this -- as well as huge demonstrations all over the world against U.S. imperialism -- highlight the fact that we are witnessing a period of fragmentation of a formerly hegemonic world system. Since the Vietnam War, the American Empire has been embroiled in a number of small-scale military actions but hasn't been successful anywhere with respect to political outcomes. New opposition movements -- termed "terrorist" by the U.S. State Department -- have arisen all over the globe in response to the arrogance of American power, which is clearly now on the wane. Political polarization is occurring in the centers of the Empire as well as the peripheries and is a crucial aspect of the reconfiguring world system that is associated with globalization. The "terrorist" networks that have allegedly orchestrated the new post-September 11 culture of fear might better be understood as part of the general fragmentation of the world system. Thoughts might go to Rome where barbarians, formerly in the employ of the empire, were, in the last century, often at the gates, burning cities and even Rome itself. Could the U.S. now be in a similar situation? After all, the new "terrorists" are former warriors in the employ of empire who have changed sides.*

The phony "unification" that the U.S. is now so desperately promoting has taken the form of a larger international project: the "War on Terrorism." But this is only a unification among state elites and the western ruling class, and has nothing to do with the actual feelings and desires of the rest of the human population. We may be approaching the end of Empire or its temporary reinforcement or even expansion, but one thing is pretty certain: The empire is impaired and it is our time to strike.

February 25, 2003, Argentina: Squatters Battle Police

Buenos Aires: Riot police clashed with hundreds of squatters being evicted from an abandoned building in old Buenos Aires. Police fired rubber bullets and tear gas as the squatters tore down metal barriers and lobbed stones at a nearby police station on the cobbled streets of the San Telmo quarter, once renowned for its expensive antique shops, cafes and tango dancing. Water cannon vehicles and police wielding batons blocked off a main artery into the city that runs past the large building -- a former children's home -- just a ten-minute walk from the Presidential Palace. One elderly woman who was evicted from the building sobbed, "I don't have thousands of pesos to buy a house." City authorities wanted to clear out the building and demolish it, arguing it could fall down and injure the squatters, some of whom had lived in the deserted structure for 15 years. As Argentina struggles with its worst economic crisis in a century, squatter settlements have multiplied across the city, once dubbed the "Paris of South America."

February 26, 2003, Argentina: Militant Protests Greet Trial for Revolutionaries

Buenos Aires: Riot police fired tear gas and rubber bullets, dispersing about 200 demonstrators outside the gates of a federal courthouse where four militant activists went on trial for inciting violence against the government eight years ago. Masked demonstrators responded by throwing rocks and sticks. As protestors scrambled to escape billowing clouds of tear gas, one television cameraman was hit in the face by a rubber bullet. The violence caused the opening of the trial to be rescheduled. The four members of "Quebracho," a leftist group known for leading anti-government protests, are accused of possessing illegal weapons and inciting violent protests.

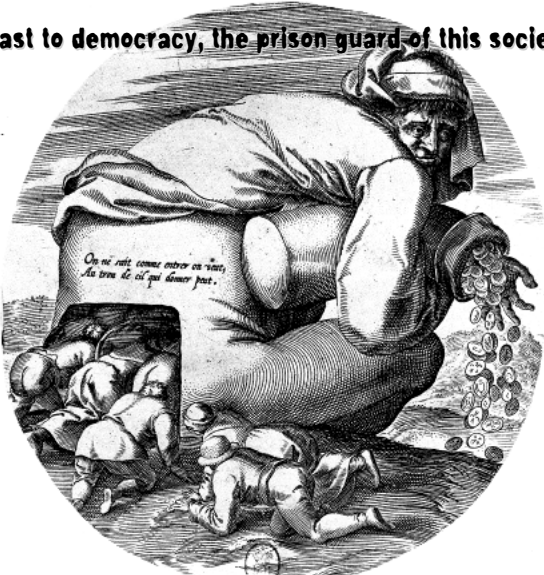
AS WE GO TO PRINT...

March 9, Mexico: Farmers, Anarchists and Students Rip Apart Voting Booths During Elections In Mexico's Largest State!!

San Salvador Anteco—Protesters wearing ski masks and waving machetes demolished voting booths and fought with authorities during municipal elections in Mexico's largest state. More than 8 million voters were choosing 124 mayors and 45 lawmakers in the state that borders Mexico City. Violence broke out in San Salvador Anteco, the scene of a major clash last year with Mexican President Vincente Fox's government over the building of a new international airport in this town 15 miles northeast of Mexico City. The land in question would have been used by Fox to make his most important physical contribution to modernizing Mexico: an 11,000-acre international airport with six runways. But to the farmers, many of whom are Indians, the plan sounded like a modern-day Conquest. "Without our land we would be like caged birds. And what would happen to our dignity?", said Jorge Espinoza, whose great-grandfather lost his leg fighting alongside Zapata. "We want progress that allows us to be owners of our destiny. The government wants to make us peons in an airport."

Protesters claimed Anteco had seceded from the rest of Mexico state since the airport dispute. A group of 300 farmers, anarchists and students ripped apart all three voting booths. Fights broke out when election officials tried to keep protesters from stealing and burning ballots. Protesters then fired a cannon to celebrate the destruction of the voting booths. The anti-election festivities left the town "deeply divided" and saw many residents head to other areas to "vote". In neighboring San Francisco Acuixcomic, local do-gooders formed a human chain to protect voting booths, but anti-government protesters eventually stormed the village and destroyed all voting materials. This incident only illustrates how all over the world, from Argentina to Algeria, the State as an institution and a political conceptualization is losing all credibility and support.

A toast to democracy, the prison guard of this society



Sides in the voting game disappear into the same machine...
THE SAME MACHINE!

INSURRECTION IN ALGERIA

It's not at all surprising that news of the insurrection that has been going on in Algeria since April 2001 has not been reported in US media. I learned about it through an Italian anarchist website: www.guerrasociale.org.

The uprising was provoked when police murdered a high school boy. On April 18, 2001, riots began in Beni-Douala, an area of Tizi Ouzou in the region of Kabylia about 70 miles east of Algiers. Riots and demonstrations quickly spread to other villages in the region. Rioters attacked police stations and troop detachments with stones, molotov cocktails and burning tires, and set fire to police vehicles, government offices and courts. Government attempts to quell the uprising failed. From the beginning, the rebels showed an unwillingness to negotiate and refused all representation. By the end of April, targets of collective rage broadened to include tax offices, all sorts of government offices and the offices of political parties. Rebels blockaded the main roads and looted government buildings and other property of the rulers. Within a week the entire region of Kabylia was in open insurrection. The state sent in its guard dogs to repress the revolt, leading to open conflicts with deaths and injuries on both sides.

By the end of the first week of May, the insurgent movement began to organize itself in village and neighborhood assemblies (the aarch) that coordinate their activities through a system of apparently mandated and revocable delegates who would be bound to a very interesting "code of honor" a few months later. The only political movement that might have had a chance of recuperating the revolt, the Front of Socialist Forces (FFS) very quickly showed its true colors by offering to aid the president of Algeria, Bouteflika, in organizing a "democratic transition".

Since then the coordination of aarch has been organizing demonstrations, general strikes, actions against the police and the elections.

By mid-June, 2001, the rebellion had spread beyond the borders of Kabylia, and in Kabylia state control had been nearly completely routed. Offices of the national police were thoroughly devastated, and the police themselves were shunned. Because no one in the region would sell them food and other needs, the government was forced to ship in supplies to them by helicopter and heavily armed convoys.

At the end of June, the coordination of the aarch refused to meet with a government representative, clearly expressing the attitude of the insurgents. In mid-July the coordination of Tizi Ouzou adopted the "code of honor" which required delegates to pledge themselves "not to carry forward any activities or affairs that aim to create direct or indirect links to power and its collaborators", "not to use the movement for partisan ends nor to drag it into electoral competitions or any other possibility for the conquest of power", "not to accept any political appointments in the institutions of power" among other things. This pledge was put to the test almost immediately when unionists and partisans of the left tried to infiltrate the movement for their own ends. The failure of this opportunistic attempt to hijack the movement was made evident during a general strike on July 26, when demonstrators chanted: "Out with the traitors! Out with the unions!"

Huge demonstrations continued. In mid-August, the insurgents banned all officials from the Soummam valley. This was not just due to a government celebration that was to occur there, but also because government officials had begun to contact certain unidentified delegates of the coordination who supported the idea of negotiation. Rather than weakening the struggle this government ploy led the insurgents to ban all government officials from Kabylia. The minister of the interior was greeted with a rain of stones when he came to install a new prefect.

On October 11, the Inter-Wilayas coordination (of the aarch and other self-organized assemblies and committees) decided that they would no longer submit the demands of their Platform to any state representative, that the demands were absolutely non-negotiable and that anyone who chose to accept dialogue with the government would be banished from the movement. Disobedience is total: taxes and utility bills are not paid, calls to military service are ignored, the upcoming elections are refused.

On December 6, some self-styled "delegates" claiming to represent the aarch planned to meet with the head of government. In protest a general strike was called in Kabylia. Sit-ins blockading police barracks turned into violent conflicts throughout the region, some of which lasted for three days. Offices of the gas company, of taxes and of the National Organization of the Mujaheedin were burned in Amizour. In El Kseur, there were looting raids on a court and a judge's house.

At the end of February, president Bouteflika announced that there would be elections on May 30. The movement responded by confiscating and burning ballot boxes and administrative documents. At the beginning of March it called for a boycott of the elections throughout Algeria.

Bouteflika tried to appease the rebels by offering compromises which were refused and by moving police forces out of two major cities, but he followed this with mass arrests of delegates of the aarch. After police searches many other delegates went into hiding. Soon conflicts broke out. The government issued 400 arrest warrants against delegates, leading to further demonstrations. Conflicts continued throughout April.

Despite government repression, the anti-electoral campaign of the aarch went forward in May with calls to action, marches and the destruction of ballot boxes. Students demanding the release of prisoners greeted president Bouteflika with a rain of stones when he went to the University of Algiers on May 20. The next day the students occupied the university demanding the release of their comrades.

On May 30, election day, the entire region of Kabylia had less than a 2% voter turn-out! People showed their preference for direct action by barricading the streets, occupying the offices of the prefectures and the municipalities, and strewing the public ways with the remains of burned ballot boxes. A general strike paralyzed the region. There were conflicts with the police and election offices were attacked and destroyed. In the whole of Algeria, voter turnout was less than 50%, showing that the refusal of elections had spread beyond the borders of Kabylia.

All through June, rebellion and social conflict continued through out Algeria. By August, violent conflicts and an ultimatum issued by the movement forced Bouteflika to pardon all the arrested delegates of the aarch. Upon release, the delegates declared that the struggle would continue.

In October another election was called. The movement met it with a general strike and demonstrations. There were conflicts with the police everywhere. Once again, about half of the eligible Algerians boycotted the elections. In Kabylia, in spite of the participation of the FFS in the elections, 90% of those eligible refused to participate in the elections.

This insurrection is of great interest to anarchists. There are no leaders, no parties, no charismatic spokespeople and no hierarchical or representative organizations of any sort behind it. It has been self-organized by those in struggle in a horizontal method and with specific guidelines to prevent the possibility of recuperation by parties, unions, politicians or other unscrupulous individuals, and these guidelines have been actively reinforced by those in struggle. The movement is equally against all of the contenders for power: the military, the government, Islamic fundamentalists, the left, the unions. It has successfully kept police "quarantined" to their barracks for long periods of time. It has carried out two election boycotts. It has forced the government to release arrested comrades. And it has carried out the daily tasks of an ongoing insurrectionary struggle. All through autonomous direct action.

**as the veneer of democracy
starts to fade... the blazing sun
of anarchy illuminates the sky!**

**edited from an article
by wolfi**

**For another critique of the Algerian uprising,
check-out the Class Against Class website at:
geocities.com/cordobakat/algeria.html**

When Worlds Collide!

Indigenous & Campesino Resistance

This section is dedicated to Standing Deer: Revolutionary, Native American, and former political prisoner. Standing Deer Wilson was stabbed to death by a man he recently befriended in January 2003. Standing Deer was just released from prison in September 2001 after a 27-year sentence for armed expropriations. He was also known for exposing the plot to kill Leonard Peltier by the US government. To his friends, Standing Deer epitomized kindness, warmth, honesty and revolutionary commitment. His death was senseless, but Standing Deer's spirit will live on.

December 5, 2002, Ecuador: Indigenous Abduct Oil Workers

Pastaza Province: A group of indigenous Achuar people from Ecuador's Pastaza Province abducted eight Ecuadoran workers from the fuel exploration firm Compañía General de Combustibles (CGC) to protest their presence on Achuar land. The Achuar released all eight over the December 15 weekend following a week of negotiations between representatives of the community, the Ecuadoran government and the company. CGC has been operating since 1996 in "Block 23" of the Ecuadoran Amazon; the majority of the indigenous communities in the area object to the company's presence, saying it is violating ancestral territorial rights. The workers were released after the government agreed to "urge" CGC to temporarily and partially suspend its exploration efforts in the area until a consensus is reached over the continuation of the work. Meanwhile, the Argentine company Techint, which is building a new Heavy Crude Pipeline (OCP) through Ecuador as part of the OCP oil consortium, has offered a \$40,000 reward for information leading to the whereabouts of two pipeline workers kidnapped last October 2. The company paid a ransom, but John Buckley of Britain and Luis Díaz of Ecuador have yet to be released.

December 17, 2002, Mexico: Indian Women Ban Liquor

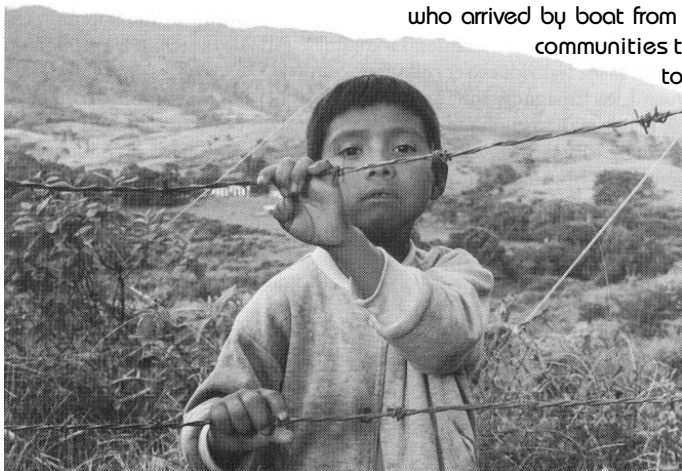
San Rafael Tampaxal: As the Corona beer truck with its clinking bottles lumbered into this Indian village in the mountains of central Mexico, angry women ran out of their homes, shouting: "Get out! Get out!" The women, many carrying babies in colorful shawls tied around their hips, forced the driver back down the mountain before he could unload a single bottle — much to the chagrin of their husbands. Fed up with their men stumbling home drunk or falling over in a stupor in their cornfields, the women of this remote Indian village in San Luis Potosi state took matters into their own hands, refusing to allow any more alcohol to be sold in their community of 250 people. Huasteco women — whose customs don't allow them to own land unless they are widowed or orphaned — traditionally don't drink alcohol and rarely hold positions of power. The women's defiance has spread like wildfire through these lush mountains. Since their bold stand more than a year ago, women in at least ten Huasteco Indian villages have gotten their leaders to ban alcohol and another dozen communities are considering it. "A lot of men are not happy with this," said Marcelina Martinez, who helped turn back the truck from San Rafael. "They seem sad. But, oh well. At least now they spend time with their families, so in the end things are better. They didn't want to listen to us, so we had to get angry." Over the past decade, Huasteco women have taken on a greater role in their communities as more men leave to find work, often in the United States. Many women now manage the family budget — something that may have led to the alcohol bans, some say. The region relies heavily on coffee, and growers are earning much less amid plummeting world prices. "Before, if a man arrived home drunk, his kids could run over and find something in his bag. But now, the little bit that men make, they spend on drinking and it's affecting the children," said one woman, whose village of Santa Rita, down the mountain from San Rafael, is considering banning alcohol. Liquor is an integral part of Indian ceremonies in Mexico. Like many tribes, Huastecos pour alcohol on the ground as an offering to Mother Earth before planting. At festivals honoring each village's patron saint, men dance to the traditional music of violins and guitars and then drink until dawn. Women rarely drink, even at festivals, but they recognize alcohol as an important part of their traditions. Because of that, most dry towns lift their bans during celebrations. "If they want to combat alcoholism they should fight it at its roots and close down the factories. But they pay a lot of taxes, so nobody will touch them." Still, women say their bans have made a difference. As darkness fell over San Rafael, young men sat on the main plaza, chatting and chugging Coca-Colas. "My husband now is home early instead of stumbling in at 2 a.m. or falling over drunk on the floor in the local store, where I used to find him," Martinez said, washing clothes outside her thatched-roofed hut.

GREEN ANARCHY #12 - SPRING '03

December 18, 2002, Canada:

Nuxalk First Nation Attacks Corporate Fish Farm

British Columbia: Natives, environmentalists and fishermen stormed the construction site for an Atlantic salmon hatchery on BC's central coast and tore it apart. Native leaders likened introducing Atlantic salmon and the parasites and diseases spread by fish farms to the arrival of the first traders who spread smallpox up and down the coast killing 90 per cent of the native people in some villages. The 60 protesters who arrived by boat from the neighboring communities tore open a gate to the Omega fish hatchery in Ocean Falls and ripped down the wooden forms for newly poured concrete. The 20 fish farms operating in the Broughton Archipelago near Alert Bay



are being blamed for destroying the pink salmon runs in the area. Fewer than 150,000 of the more than 3.6 million pink salmon that were expected actually returned this year. A scientific study of the disaster suggests bloodsucking sea lice they picked up on the way past the salmon farms killed off the juvenile salmon. Natives raised the alarm even before the fish failed to return. Fishermen were finding young pink salmon covered in the parasites near the fish farms and last month demanded the shutdown of all the fish farms in the area -- to no avail. The B.C. Salmon Farmers' Association said it would cooperate with a "scientific" study into the problem.

January 1, 2003, Mexico: Rebels "Retake" Chiapas City

Chiapas: Some 15,000–20,000 indigenous supporters of Mexico's rebel Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) marched in San Cristóbal de las Casas in the southeastern state of Chiapas to mark the ninth anniversary of their 1994 uprising. The huge nighttime march was a symbolic, peaceful "retaking" of the city, which the rebels seized with a surprise armed attack on January 1, 1994. Carrying machetes and torches, the demonstrators listened as seven masked EZLN members denounced Mexico's main political parties, the government of President Vicente Fox Quesada and neo-liberal "globalization," and expressed support for the struggles of Mexican campesinos, "the political struggle of the Basque people," self-determination for Venezuela and "the rebel Argentine people." The mobilization was the EZLN's largest since 2001, when the rebels mounted a large campaign for indigenous rights legislation, and it also marked the official end of the year and a half of silence the rebels maintained after Congress passed legislation that was unacceptable to the EZLN and most indigenous groups. On December 30 the EZLN's main spokesperson, Insurgent Sub-Commander Marcos, set a new, more aggressive tone with a letter published in the Mexican daily *La Jornada*. The letter dealt with the government's efforts to remove indigenous communities set up over the past few years in the Montes Azules ecological reserve in southeastern Chiapas. The EZLN talked to representatives of the communities, who said they would not leave until all the EZLN's demands had been met. "We told them we support them totally," Marcos wrote. "So it is good for everyone to know this, and in time: in the case of Zapatista villages, there will be no 'peaceful removals.'" Marcos was referring to the "peaceful removal" on December 19 of one community, Lucio Cabañas, named after a rebel leader in Guerrero in the 1970s.



when the government of President Alejandro Toledo arrested Nelson Palomino, a chief coca leader, for alleged "terrorist propagandizing."

CRAZY GRANDPA WHISPERS

tells me: take a pick ax to new car row hack & clear the land
plant Hopi corn down to the sea
tells me: break open that zoo buffalo corral
chase them snorting through the streets
tells me: put up tipis in every vacant lot
shelter the poor without rent
tells me: steal those dogs the pound suffocates
cook them for Lakota stew
feed the hungry without words
Crazy Grandpa supposed to be dead They lock him up
He withered Not dead I feel him shrivel against my backbone
when I see anybody behind bars
Grandpa tells me: take back these cities
live as your ancestors Sew up the mouths of the enemy
with their damn beads
Grandpa I hear you through the walls of my skin
Grandpa if I obey you they'll lock me up again
like they did you
Grandpa it's such a fine
fine line
between my instincts & their sanity laws
I've no time to sew moccasins
Grandpa I'm still learning how to walk in this world
without getting caught

by Chrystos

"One does not sell the earth upon which the people walk." —Tashunka Witko (Crazy Horse)

Back By Popular Demand. . .

THE WILD (AND THE LESS-DOMESTICATED) FIGHT BACK!



Civilization's basic drive towards the complete domination and subjugation of all that is wild has resulted in a 10,000-year war on the earth and her creatures. From property lines to concrete, from napalm to barbed wire, civilization has always used every tool in its arsenal to subdue that which is ungovernable.

Though civilized humans might like their cities neatly separated from the natural world, the Wild (chaos) is not submitting. Wild fauna and flora are reacting and adapting to civilization as fast as they can, not just in relation to logging and mining and ranching and fishing, but also to the fast-food restaurants, golf courses and campgrounds that now occupy so much of the earth's surface. Crows and their cousins in the corvid family—ravens, jays and magpies—have spent thousands of years taking advantage of human "ingenuity" and are now having a high time scavenging on the edges of the modern world, foraging in dumps and on suburban lawns, and nesting on everything from Alaska oil rigs to skyscrapers.

In cities like Phoenix, hungry javelinas—knee-high wild pigs—devour the exotic (and expensive) landscaping of wealthy retirees, as Gila woodpeckers hammer away at air-conditioning units and peregrine falcons smear pigeon guts on downtown law-office windows. And all over the West Coast, from Los Angeles to Seattle, you'll find the ever-adaptable coyote, an animal so resourceful and crafty that it can learn and remember which storm-sewer channels lead to which golf courses, which duck ponds and swimming pools offer drinking water when the hills are dry, and which dumpsters behind which supermarkets are likely to be overflowing with delightfully rancid fish. While many species are forced to flee the expanding rings of development and "progress", hardier creatures like the coyote are rushing in like bargain-hunters on their way to a going-out of business sale. Intended or not, city parks and college campuses have become effective urban wildlife refuge for outlaw species like the coyote and serve as guerrilla bases from which they can launch their attacks on what has become their single most important mammalian prey in the new technological wasteland: the suburban housecat.

In fact, it is in the interface between civilization and wilderness that an evolutionary showdown is brewing, and the odds seem to favor the wild ones (and the few humans left that haven't been terminally weakened by the easy life furnished by civilization's machines.) The system's teeming metropolises, all dependent on artificial energy sources to drive the machines which maintain their artificial environments, are starting to decay and implode. The illusion is crumbling, the masses are panicking, and the wild ones are watching, with eyes of green fire, biding their time, studying their enemy....and occasionally, FIGHTING BACK!

November 19, 2002, Pennsylvania: Elephant Kills Keeper at Pittsburgh Zoo

On mornings when weather permits, elephants at the Pittsburgh zoo are brought out of their cages to walk with their keepers (guards) around the grounds. On November 19, when two zookeepers were about halfway around the zoo with a twenty-year-old mother elephant and her 3-year-old female calf, the mother elephant abruptly stopped near the Northern Shores Café building. When one of her guards urged her to move along, the elephant butted him and pinned him to the ground with her head, crushing him. The entire incident lasted about 30 seconds and it's believed that the zookeeper, Mike Gatti, died instantly. Connie George, a spokeswoman for the zoo, said the elephant's behavior that day was atypical. "This is our most docile elephant. She's the model we use when we talk to other trainers about elephants. She's like a model elephant. She's the most subordinate in the group. She's so totally well behaved. She is not stubborn, she's very responsive."

November 20, 2002, Washington: Unrequited Love Nearly Kills Rattlesnake Abuser

YACOLT—A man who was drunkenly showing off for his friends by kissing his newly captured rattlesnake was bitten on the lip and nearly died. Matt George, 21, was immediately hospitalized in critical condition after the incident, but within a few days his condition had stabilized. George was boastfully displaying the snake he had caught on a recent trip to Arizona; determined to be seen as the 'life of the party', George kissed the 2-foot snake while holding it behind its head. Rebellious against this humiliation, the snake took a chunk out of his face.

"Laughter is the pipe of Pan whose joyful melodies set skyscrapers ablaze and cause the squirrel, the elephant and the yarrow plant to wage massive war on I.B.M. Laughter is the flash in the eye of a jaguar pouncing on an unsuspecting game hunter. Laughter is an earthquake hitting every major city with its wild abstract graffiti brought by hoary-headed bison coming once again to claim the prairies for the wild ones whose purple tears have stained sadistic sidewalks much too long."

— The Dances of the Discordian Dervish

November 25, 2002, Connecticut: Treasonous Turkey Causes Pre-Holiday Havoc

PLAINFIELD—A wild turkey gave some bankers and townspeople a run for their money two days before Thanksgiving. The hen turkey, weighing 15-20 pounds, staked out some turf at the Jewett City Savings Bank and cornered customers as they tried to enter. The feral bird first charged Dianne Beaulac, a customer service representative at the bank. "I got out of my car and he just came after me. I threw my keys at it, my hair clip," she said. It took hours before town employees, crawling along the building's roof and chasing the bird around the parking lot, cornered it.

November 26, 2002, Malaysia: "Performing" Snake Kills Charmer

KUALA LUMPUR—A cobra bit and killed a snake charmer when the man tried to coax it out of its box during a "performance." The snake charmer, identified as R. Anbarasan, grabbed the snake because it disobeyed orders and refused to appear in the show. "When the snake refused, Anbarasan pulled its tail and placed the cobra on the ground," P. Sivakumar told the local newspaper. "Without warning, the snake bit his left hand." Anbarasan died three hours later in a hospital.



Dec 4, 2002, Oregon:
Plane Hits Elk during Take Off,
Crashes off Runway

ASTORIA—A six-seat airplane hit an elk while taking off from Astoria Regional Airport and erupted in a fireball. Four people were on board, but no one was injured in the crash, said Ron Larsen, airport manager. Interestingly enough, one of the passengers was a military official, but airport investigators declined to give more details about the plane's mission or flight plans. The Learjet 36 was a civilian plane under contract to the Canadian military and was leaving on some sort of scheduled mission. The rural airport had planned to install a fence next summer to keep out the wandering herds of elk that migrate through the area.

January 14, 2003, Philippines: Rooster Kills Handler during Cockfight

ZAMBORANGA—A cockfight turned deadly in the Philippines—for a handler—when a rooster with razor-sharp steel spikes strapped to its legs attacked him. The rooster, about to be set loose for a bout in a crowded arena, hit the stunned man's thighs and groin with the razor-sharp spikes, causing him to bleed profusely in front of the shocked crowd. The man died en route to a hospital. Cockfighting is a popular gambling sport in the Philippines, especially in rural areas.

"Laughter is the scream of a factory drunk on gasoline and matches giving light to a million dancing birds of paradise. Laughter dances on the hillsides with witches in lunatic moonbeams as werewolves tear robots limb from limb and bury them in boxes labeled: for the earthworm."

—The Dances of the Discordian Dervish

Notable Insect Rebellions In 2002:

Beyond the daily contributions that termites, carpenter ants and cockroaches make towards the destruction of civilization, our "animal slave revolt" news staff received word of two other incidents of insect-related mayhem in the summer of 2002. One occurred in Corn Fork, KY, in July, when Larry Goble's house caught fire after an accident caused by Goble's attempt to burn a wasp's nest on an outside wall. The other incident occurred in August, when Rodrigo Vasquez's mobile home in Rockingham County, PA, was nearly destroyed when gas appliances ignited the owners' "pest-control" foggers.

The Beauty In The Beast: Human And Animal Rebels Unite Against The Forces Of Control!

After the last *"Animal Uprisings"* news section appeared in issue #10 (Fall 2002) of *Green Anarchy*, many of our readers wrote us requesting that we carry news items in the future dealing with humans and other species working together to undermine the tyranny of the system. We haven't heard of any recent examples of this sort of thing, but here are a few older pieces our hard-working anarcho-investigators were able to unearth through their research. If anyone out there knows of other instances of animal/human collaboration, then please write us at: **P.O. Box 11331, Eugene, Oregon, 97440**, or email us at: **collective@greenanarchy.org**

* In the late 1960's, the New York City-based anarchist "street gang with analysis," Black Mask, would gather emaciated, half-starving dogs and release them in expensive restaurants, as one strategy in their almost daily interventions into the heart of the American spectacle.

* On December 12, 1980, around the time of some fairly heated battles between squatters and cops in West Berlin, 600 white mice hidden in cornflake boxes were smuggled into Karstadt department store's grocery section. After eating their way out of boxes, they proceeded to eat their way through the abundance of food which now surrounded them.

The communiqué issued by the MAF (Mouse Army Faction), which claimed credit for this action, stated: *"This consumer shit has stunk for a long time and we won't let these American colonialist Mickey Mouses make asses out of us anymore. We don't want Disneyland, so the future of Karstadt must be in the hands of mice. For us prison walls are only blocks of cheese. We'll eat up everything that destroys us."*

A couple of months later, in the middle of February, in a coordinated attack on forty banks, the "Rolling Pig Kommandos" stuffed bank letter boxes with pig shit and an accompanying note reading in part: *"You shit on the poor pigs, but today you are full of shit. You made us into piggy banks and slaughtered us, but pigs are animals too. We won't allow you to build us new modern pigsties. You shit your money into banks. From today onward we shit back. Solidarity with the squatters! Freedom for all imprisoned squatters! Revoke all charges! Kisses to Maus from the MAF Kreutzberg!"*

The next day, in an action also credited to the MAF (Mouse Army Faction), twelve rats made homeless by a squat eviction were released in City Hall.



REFLECTIONS ON THE END OF WORK

BY JEFFREY SHANTZ

The meaning of work is once again on the agenda and gaining increasing relevance for contemporary struggles. Within movements such as ecology, work is being examined from novel and challenging perspectives and with a growing sense of urgency. Beyond prior theoretical understandings, either as the basis for identity (as in classical Marxism) or, conversely, as being of no relevance to social transformation, the category “jobs” is (re)opened as a crucial site of struggle. “What about work?” is returning as a key question for transformative politics at the turn of the millennium.

There are perhaps two principal, but very different, impulses for an emergent critique of work: firstly, the anti-productivist visions of social relations coming from social movements -- most significantly ecology -- which have encouraged a rethinking of the character of work; and secondly the cybernetized restructuring of global capital with its jobless recovery and institutionalized levels of unemployment. The first impulse tends towards radical and critical approaches to the decline or end of jobs, while the second is commonly reflected in expressions of anxiety, desperation and political reaction.

Numerous authors (Polanyi, 1958; Black, 1995; Bridges, 1995) have discussed the historic emergence of “jobs” -- meaning “to work for wages” -- as something distinguished from the performance of work -- specific tasks engaged to meet direct needs. This transformation was closely related to enclosure of common lands and the separation of home life and work life as people left villages to work in the factories of the cities. Through industrialism work became transformed into jobs. The new job-work gradually contributed to the destruction of traditional social relations and served to undermine prior ways of living. The job is a social artifact, although it is so deeply embedded in our consciousness that most of us have forgotten its artificiality or the fact that most societies since the beginning of time have done fine without jobs.

According to futurists such as Bridges, we have recently entered a new period signaled by further transformations in what is to be meant by jobs. “Now, once again, we have come to a turning point at which the assumptions about living and working that people had grown comfortable with are being challenged” (Bridges, 1995:45). Fellow Nostradamian Jeremy Rifkin argues that the global economy is in the midst of a transformation as significant as the Industrial Revolution. He suggests that we have entered a “new economic era” marked by a declining need for “mass human labor”. As computers, robots and telecommunications networks and other cybernetic technologies replace human workers in an increasing range of activities we have entered the early stages of a shift from “mass labor” to highly skilled “elite” labor accompanied by increasing automation in the production of goods and the delivery of services” (Rifkin, 1995).

Bridges suggests that changes in technology and the global market have transformed work relations in such a manner as to suggest the disappearance of the very category “job”. Cybernetization of capital has provided a context in which it is not unreasonable for workers to expect that their jobs will be eliminated. Bridges also suggests that each increase in productivity seems to make jobs redundant.

Corresponding to this may be a shift in peoples’ perceptions of work. More and more, people are “searching for alternatives to jobs and job descriptions” (Bridges, 1995: 46). Rifkin suggests that the “jobs” question is “likely to be the most explosive issue of the [present] decade”.

More interesting than the futurists are those calling for the outright abolition of work in its job form. Recognizing that the category “job” signifies a dependency relationship disguised as independence (the “freedom” to consume), work abolitionists call for workers of the world to relax in a gleeful rejection of the leftist mantra of full employment (Black, 1995).

The abolitionist appeal is not a project for further integration of the working classes through preservation of jobs at all costs and over-reliance upon parliamentary mediation towards that end. Rather it expresses traditionally anarchic or libertarian sensibilities which journey beyond the reductionist contortion which has seen work come to be equated with jobs. This unconventional approach is made manifest primarily through emphases on creativity, self-determination and conviviality of relations. The category “jobs” is understood as marking a restriction of peoples’ capacities to care for themselves and those within their communal/ecological groupings and is therefore rejected as a point for a radical activist convergence.

Work abolitionism suggests a movement not “of class” but rather “against class”, i.e., against the commodification of creativity and performance. Jobs or employment within the “anti-class” milieu refer to the idea that one must sell oneself to any function in order to receive sustenance, i.e., the imperative of wage labor. The category “jobs” speaks to the compulsory character of involvement in production -- production enforced via relations of economic and political control and power. Questions of what one is doing are removed given this construction, of course. Work is no longer done for its own sake but for secondary effects, such as wages, which are not characteristic of or inherent to the work itself. It might be said that jobs form a condensation point for complex relations of

power around the trading of time for money, or what Zimpel, quite poignantly, refers to as “a transaction of existential absurdity”.

Jobs, as characterized by an extension of organizational control over people as workers signify a system of domination practiced through forms of discipline which include surveillance and time-management. The regimentation and discipline of the job serves to habituate workers to hierarchy and obedience while also discouraging insubordination and autonomy. Jobs as regimented roles replace direct, creative participation and initiative through arrangements of subservience. Bob Black argues that employment is capital’s primary and most direct coercive formation, one which is experienced daily.

Anti-work themes are not new, of course. They find antecedents in Fourier, Lafargue, and even (especially?) in Marx’s critique of alienated labor. For radical abolitionists, (see Negri, 1984) the liquidation of wage labor is not a given; it is a question of political struggle.

Here a convergence between anti-work theorizing and the analyses developed within autonomist Marxism are particularly interesting. Drawing from Marx’s analysis of automation within a wage system, autonomist Marxists have argued that the Cybernetization of capital will not usher in a leisure society (who would want it anyway?) but would instead encourage an enlargement of the realm of work as labor displaced from primary and secondary industry becomes reabsorbed by the tertiary, quaternary, or quinary sectors as farther and farther flung domains of human activity are assimilated within the social factory. Cybernetized capital, through the commodification of expanded and novel realms of human activity, can maintain wage labor, incessantly recreating its proletariat, unless it is forcibly interrupted by the organized efforts

of workers to reclaim their “life-time”. Projects of both the left and the right, however, have maintained an almost devotional commitment to employment and job creation as social goals. Differences only emerge over

details, such as wages, hours, or profitability. Until recently there had been little debate around the future of work and radical responses to the Cybernetization of production.

While most activists -- feminists, civil rights, labor -- have sought increased participation in the job market, some greens have begun to question participation itself. Perhaps more than other activists, abolitionists have increasingly come to understand jobs, under the guise of work, as perhaps the most

basic form of unfreedom, one which must be overcome in any quest towards liberty. Too often, previously, the common response has been one of turning away from workers and from questions relating to the organization of working relations. Radical politics can no longer ignore those questions which are posed by the presence of jobs, however. Indeed it might be said that a return to the problematic of jobs becomes the starting point for a reformulation of radicalism, at least along green lines.

So, what forms has the organization of “workers-against-work” taken? Earlier Wobbly (Industrial Workers of the World) demands for a four-hour-day may

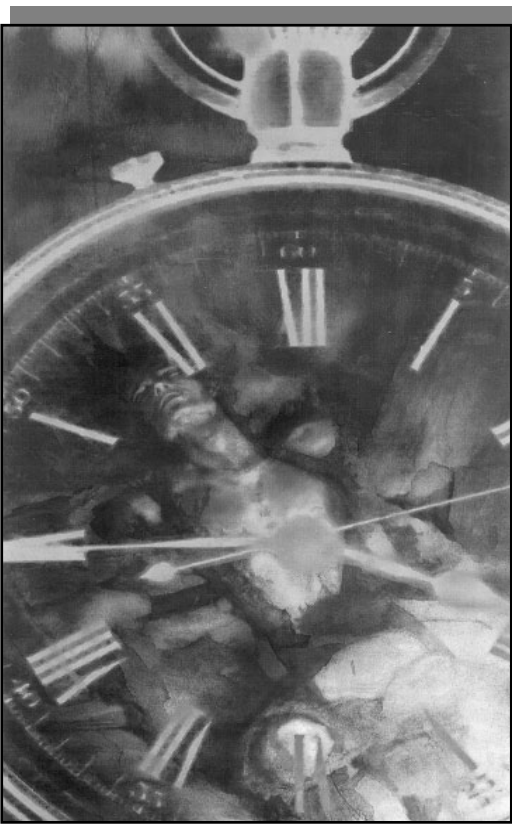
be understood as an expression of opposition to the extension of capitalist control over labor and the reduction of workers to one-dimensional class beings. They suggest a movement for autonomy wherein labor achieves some distance from capital and the extension of control over creativity. The shortened workday might be best understood as the opening of creative time, outside of capitalist discipline and command, and the expansion of time available for such “frivolous” undertakings as bringing about the end of industrial capitalism. In limiting the duration and intensity of the work day, labor asserts its own project counter to that of capital.

The mythic use of the general strike by Wobblies might also be understood in this manner. Anarcho-syndicalists have long argued that for co-operative, community-based ways of living to endure workers will have to stop producing for Capital and State. Given current political economy, this implies that workers must stop producing, period! In other words, class is only abolished through not working -- a general strike. Through the general withdrawal of labor might the megamachine be ground to a halt and left to rust!

Historically, unions had responded to technological changes and increases to productivity with demands for a shortened work-week. However, Rifkin reports that the union officials with whom he has spoken are “universally reluctant to deal with the notion that mass labor - the very basis of trade unionism -- will continue to decline and may even disappear altogether.” Mainstream unionists have been incapable of any radical rethinking of their politics which might address the crucial transformation in jobs. Such failures to adapt, or even to remember their own radical histories, speak to the difficulties facing workers within traditional unions in the contemporary context.

Rifkin -- while not discussing specifically the ecological significance of a shortened work-week -- recognizes that such a shortening could serve as a rallying point for a powerful convergence of social struggles. Rifkin’s analysis remains productivist (among other things undesirable), however -- even arguing that a shortened work-week could be beneficial for capital in allowing for a doubling or tripling of productivity! Rifkin never questions the legitimacy or the desirability of capitalist relations. Indeed a major reason for concern over “vanishing jobs” is that the transformation threatens a capitalist collapse through a weakening of consumer demand. Rifkin’s main desire is to see an increase in the “purchasing power” of workers so that “[e]mployers, workers, the economy, and the government all benefit”.

Like sociological “structural-functionalists” of old, Rifkin’s primary concern is with the possibility of “strain” in the system and the alleviation of any such strain. Rifkin (1995b) worries that the decline of jobs could threaten the foundations of the modern state (Yikes!) through the destabilizing impact upon social relations which previously rested upon a shared valuing of labor — what he calls the heart of the social contract. Rifkin even fears that the crisis in jobs will open the door to renewed militancy and to extralegal expressions of politics (Oh, horror!).



Quitting Work

My hammer
is
dropped.

Hardhat hung on a nail,
all my saws are
dull.

Thirty stories over Seattle,
In all that haste
and crazed ringing whine
of Skillsaws
what did my hammering count?

It was
the grain of fir
Imprisoned in cement

When I looked at those damned grey walls
I saw a river
in there
I saw mountains
in there,
The veins of leaves
and braided streams of glaciers
Frozen
in chips of dried slurry
but
STILL SINGING
trying to
get OUT.

Overhead, in the open sky
The maddened howl of engines
Turns to thunder
And carries my heart
Across ranges and ranges
of old age hills
To a high place
where all the waters are born
where all the songs
wake up
where the dreams begin

Get somebody else
to beat the earth into dead shapes,
I can't do it anymore, foreman,

I QUIT.

—Zac Relsner

In like fashion, Bridges optimism over possibilities for the transformation of jobs speaks only to the strata of well-skilled, well-paid workers in an increasingly polarized workforce. The conclusions drawn by Bridges never question the hegemony of capital in structuring possible responses to the “death of the job”, leaving the “employee” as an intact category facing such unsatisfactory and increasingly tenuous options as freelance work, part-time work, or piecework. The decline of the job simply comes to mean that those who are working have more work to do. Even limited concerns over what is being produced, how, by whom and for what purpose never appear on the horizon of Bridges schema. Neither do questions regarding what happens to those newly “liberated” -- the jobless.

Among abolitionists, the “end of work” suggests much more intriguing possibilities. Far from being irrational responses to serious social transformations, workplace rebellion and workers’ self-determination become ever more reasonable responses to the uncertainty and contingency of emerging conditions of (un)employment. They offer worker and community self-determination as alternatives to neo-liberal perspectives on unemployment. Such alternatives provide an articulation of the end of work which emphasizes workers actively overcoming their own workerness , against pessimistic or cynical responses such as mass retraining which simply reinforces dependence upon elites.

An objection might well be raised that abolitionism need not imply a transformation of capitalism; after all, the “abolition of work” is a reference also employed by some neo-liberal post-industrial theorists. There, however, the abolition of work is understood as completely realizable under capitalism. The possible end of work is conceptualized as coming from the application of innovative technological resources within capitalist relations - not as a destruction of those relations. At its most dramatic, it implies a leisure society enabled through the development of artificial intelligence and robotics.

These are not acceptable alternatives. It is not conceivable how any ecological lifestyles could be constituted otherwise than with the outright cessation of capitalist production. Only the end of production can necessarily imply the end of nuclearism, weapons production, clear-cutting, toxic waste products -- the varieties of harmful applications to which nature is commonly subjected (again, Black states this most effectively). Among the prerequisites for ecological change is a reduction both in the amount of work being done and in the character of what is done. Much of work, involving massive appropriation of natural elements, is useless. That includes the defense and reproduction of work relations in political (ownership and control) and economic (circulation and consumption) forms.

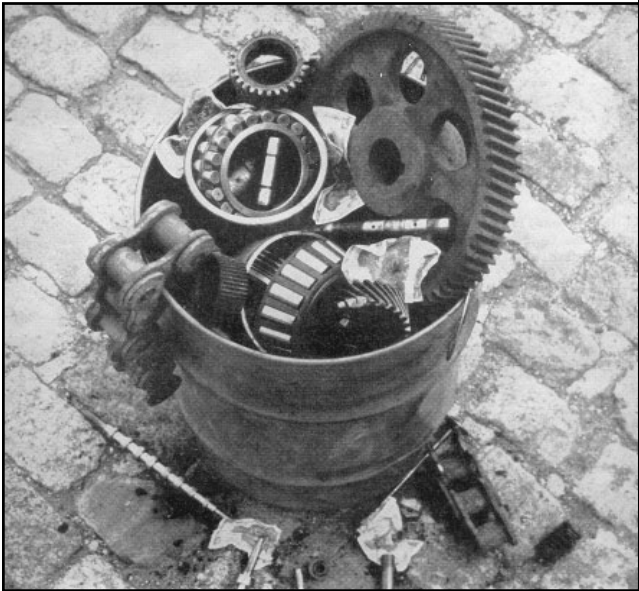
Abolitionists envision work being performed through direct, democratic, participatory means within which work is conceived more as craft or play. Growing concerns over the regimentation and alienation of working conditions along with the fatal ecological consequences have contributed to the emergence of anti-technology/anti-civilization (anti-tech/anti-civ) discourses arguing quite persuasively that humans must abandon not only industry and technology, but civilization itself.

Abolitionist visions are raised against the undermining influences of work in contemporary conditions of globalism. They offer but one, though perhaps the most interesting, contribution to the problem of jobs and to the refusal of authoritarian and coercive social relations.

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The Green Anarchy Collective also highly recommends to our readers the excellent article, “*Work: The Theft Of Life*”, which appeared in the insurrectionary anarchist journal *Willful Disobedience, Volume 3, Number 1* (available for two dollars from PO Box 31098 Los Angeles, CA 90031)



Creative Crime And Proletariat Pranks

“To some, the unique one appears to be an anarchist, because he defies authority in all its forms whenever it gets in her way. To others, she appears to be an elitist, because he refuses to keep herself down because of the weakness or stupidity of others or because of liberal, moralistic demands for mediocre equality. The unique one is motivated by a “will to power”—a will to exercise the power of perpetual self-creation for her own enjoyment. The social context parodies this will with the will to exercise the power of domination and manipulation—the will to control others lives because one lacks the courage to create one’s own. The unique one knows that social domination is not a form of self-creation, but is merely enslavement to a social role.”

—from **The Unique One: a Manifesto** by Feral Faun

Insane. To describe in one word a group of people who come up with some documents that are detailed guides for everyone else’s behavior (those making the laws surely disregard them as often as they open their filthy mouths). It becomes even more insane when whole gangs of people are hired and trained as robots to defend the ideas in the documents, which are only that, ideas. Much more physically tyrannical than that are the giant cages and courtrooms that are built to demonstrate the tangibility of their abstract documents. These “abstract documents”—these **laws**—have helped create a society where life is nothing more than an unending subjugation of the individual mind and body to the demands of machines and production. One can only be faced with such degrading absurdity for so long before destroying oneself or fighting back somehow. And indeed, there have always been those who refuse to wear their chains like “good” slaves,



disruptive and rebellious **individuals** who—with jester-like disdain—insist on distinguishing themselves from the conformist mass of humanity who have become relegated to the status of machines. These are the outlaws, the freelancers, the “criminals” who live on the margins of the system, independently, by their wits and in defiance of official forces: Squatters who tap into stolen electricity, living a hidden life out of the eye of the “authorities.” Bank robbers and bandits who expropriate wealth from the ruling class. Life outside the system’s laws—that is, choosing an unknown and expansive existence over a repressive and constricted one—is always a gamble but it is replete with opportunities for those who know how to move through this unregulated zone, find hidden resources and adapt to its conditions. For it is the free spirits, those who cross forbidden zones and go wherever they wish, who are living up to their fullest potential and who, through their ability to live on the fringes, finally possesses more “power” than the so-called powerful. Cheers to all engaged in struggle, and maybe those of you on the fence between the latter and the former can be inspired to live and become a beautiful thorn in the side of the state.

October 5, 2002, Oregon: Widespread Sabotage of Police Department Video Cameras

EUGENE: Mechanics working for the Eugene Police Department have found themselves repairing video cameras on patrol cars over and over lately, in what appears to be a rash of uncompromising attacks against the servants of neo-colonial rule by local insurgents. The SpectraTek camera systems -- installed in 1997 as part of a \$90,000 program to put a camera in about two dozen police patrol cars -- is apparently running into complications due to mysterious “gremlin-like” sabotage. In the last three years, pig technicians found that a dozen cables, wires or computer-style connections had been either broken or disabled. In one patrol car, a camera system’s wiring was found pulled out of the monitor in the passenger compartment and also cut near the VCR in the trunk. It’s nice to see Eugene dissidents (whomever they might be) extending their rebellion against the occupying army (the pigs) whose patrol cars, cameras and guns enclose our communities and our lives. Our lives and our world are too important to us to play by the rules set by those who seek to control us: We claim the right to resist by any means we individually or collectively choose.

October 5, 2002, Oregon: Local Rebel Arrested in Theft from Police

EUGENE: A 20-year-old Springfield man has been charged with stealing a computer and a nightstick from a Eugene police cruiser. Joshua Lee Sullivan is being held in the Lane County Jail on one count of first-degree theft. He was arrested after police served a search warrant at his house in the Hayden Bridge area of Springfield, where the vindictive pigs found the missing computer and baton. The police gear was stolen the previous Saturday from a patrol car parked near 19th Avenue and Fairview Drive in Eugene. Several pigs had responded to complaints of a loud party in the area.

When one of the pigs returned to his car, he noticed that the instruments of oppression had been stolen. The Pigs would not disclose how they linked Sullivan to the theft, but most likely he took action spontaneously and forgot to wear gloves. Actions such as these demonstrate that a new wave of mutiny and refusal threatens to undermine the force-propped edifice of authoritarian, high-tech capital: Rebellion is on the rise, in every segment of the population. Let’s be sure to support those who dare to revolt!

October 8, 2002, Oregon: Successful Bank Robbery East Of Eugene!!

SPRINGFIELD: Pigs searched in vain for hours for a playful trickster who robbed a Springfield bank and drove off in an expensive sport utility vehicle, disappearing in a chaotic, optical blur that left the pigs frustrated and mystified. Like a master magician, the unidentified male (who bank employees are not able to give a good physical description of) entered the Siuslaw Valley Bank at 11:27 a.m. and in a fascinating display of sleight of hand, convinced a teller to hand over an undisclosed amount of money *without ever displaying a weapon*. A law-abiding bank customer (snitch) saw a black Lincoln Navigator with Washington plates drive away from the bank, and like a good robot, reported that information to the pigs when they arrived. Springfield police detectives searching the area saw the luxury SUV near Lowell and tailed it while waiting for backup. But the driver eluded them near Goodman Creek Road, misdirecting the pigs through a clever transposition of moving objects. The vehicle, which was stolen from a car lot in Vancouver, Washington, was later found crashed in a ravine where Goodman Creek Road crosses Highway 58. Both the bank robber and the expropriated cash got away.

November 2002: City Worker Accused of Robin Hood Crimes

LAGARANGE, GE—A city utility employee is accused of stealing from the rich to help the poor pay their bills. Cassandra Dickerson, 34, was charged with stealing \$3,000 from the Department of Utilities, where she worked for about a year. Internal investigators said she diverted payments from businesses to help people who were behind on payments or needed deposits to get gas, water or electricity.

November 26, 2002, Oregon: Two Banks Robbed On Same Day!

ASHLAND—Two Ashland banks were robbed just hours apart—the first double bank robbery that this complacent, economically privileged city has seen in quite some time. Ashland, a sleepwalking citadel of decadence, populated mostly by conformist and politically-sedated yuppies who flaunt their wealth, is despised by anarchists all over the west coast for its pretentious, plastic ways and for the subdued, drugged quality of most of its inhabitants (it’s been speculated that some sort of “Soma”-like substance is being added to the local water supply). It’s nice to hear about something “out of the ordinary” happening in a town that usually seems as “real” as Disneyland or Pleasantville.

December 23,2002: Rock Burglars Net \$20 Million During 9-Year Crime Spree In Arizona

Arizona’s most elusive thieves, dubbed the Rock Burglars, were back in high gear in December, smashing into five homes and raising their take to about \$20 million over the past nine years. Frustrated police, who say they have no suspects, are no closer to solving the crimes than they were in 1993. The burglars have broken in to at least 255 upscale residences in the northeast Valley, including the homes of Diamondback outfielder Steve Finley in September, 2002 and former Vice President Dan Quayle in 1999. Luxury homes in Paradise Valley, where the average house sells for \$800,000, have been the Rock Burglars favorite prey. More than half of their heists, 144, have been committed there. Generally working in teams of at least two people per hit, the burglars have ranged across 800 square miles, netting mostly jewelry, cash and handguns. In two cases, they nabbed valuables worth more than \$1 million. The busiest year for the Rock Burglars was 1999, with 45 break-ins. The burglars almost topped that total in 2002, with 44 break-ins. The burglars’ spree began in 1993 in Paradise Valley, home to many of Arizona’s richest residents, who tightly guard their privacy. The thieves gradually branched out into the deep pockets of the northeast Valley’s other luxury neighborhoods. “We haven’t solved it yet because they’re just good burglars,” said Sgt. Alan Laitsch, who has been on the case since the beginning.

January 11, 2003, Greece: Gunman Makes Off With Loot on Stolen Motorcycle

ATHENS: A gunman made off with 17,000 euros after robbing a bank in the Athenian district of Halandri. The unidentified robber fled on a motorcycle which, police later confirmed, had been stolen from the same area a week prior.

**ONE WHO BREAKS NO LAWS IS
EVENTUALLY BROKEN BY THE LAWS!**



November 19, 2002, California:
Man Kills Cop in Protest of "Corporate Irresponsibility"
RED BLUFF: A cop was shot and killed while putting gas in his car. Andrew McCrea, 23, claimed the shooting, saying he did it in protest of growing police state tactics and "corporate irresponsibility." We failed to obtain further info.

December 4, 2002, Netherlands: Bombs Placed in IKEA Stores
AMSTERDAM: Two bombs were found in outlets of the IKEA home goods chain, and two police explosives experts were wounded when one of the devices detonated as they tried to disarm it. All ten stores in the Netherlands belonging to the Swedish-based company were closed while police searched for more explosives.

December 14, 2002, Greece:
Disgruntled Car Mechanic Attempts to Assassinate Mayor
ATHENS: A disgruntled car mechanic shot at Athens Mayor Dora Bakoyianni in the back seat of her car at the foot of the Acropolis, but the conservative politician was saved from serious injury by an unconscious move to rummage through her handbag. As she ducked, the single-bore shotgun bullet passed through the neck of Bakoyianni's police driver, who was out of danger after being treated at a hospital. Bakoyianni suffered facial cuts from flying window shards, but was otherwise uninjured. The attacker ran away from the scene of the attack and was pursued by a passing policeman who arrested him with the help of the police guard outside the Spanish Embassy, a few hundred meters from where the incident took place. Mayor Dora Bakoyianni is the daughter of former conservative Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis and the widow of deputy Pavlos Bakoyiannis, who was assassinated by November 17 revolutionaries in 1989.



Communiqué from the Universal Liberation Front

JANUARY 2003 — WARNING TO ALL CIVILIZED HUMANS! We have had enough of your kind. Your vision of the future, is a continuation of your past — one filled with destruction and conquest. We hereby quarantine your planet so it no longer contaminates the rest of the universe. We will no longer allow your mission to proceed as planned. The *Columbia* was our most recent effort to intervene in your attempts to "colonize space". It was not the first, however. Remember the *Challenger* or the *Apollo*? We have our ways of stopping you. DO NOT FUCK WITH US! We mean you no harm, just stay out of space. We are convinced that you will not be a hindrance for much longer, as your destruction by your own hands seems inevitable. We do, however, feel sorrow for the other life forms (including those of your species) which also inhabit your globe, those which have suffered for thousands of years at your brutal hands and machines. We wish there was a way to help them, but we may not interfere. It is up to you. Stop all progress and look inward, for you have become alien to your own life. Do not cross the atmospheric line again, or the consequences will be most severe.

For Total Liberation Always!
— U.L.F.

December 27, 2002, Columbia: Residents Ransack Light Firm
CORDOBA: Angry residents of San Andrés de Sotavento in the northern Colombian province of Córdoba smashed up the local offices of the electric company Electrocosta, and caused further damages to a payment center for the local drinking water authority. Local residents also blocked roads with burning tires. Police were sent in to restore order, and the subsequent conflict left two police agents and 10 civilians hurt. The community had been without drinking water services for a month, and had suffered constant electricity rationing in recent days. Electrocosta claimed it had to ration electricity because of technical problems and because many users had failed to pay their bills. The company responded to the incident by normalizing energy service; however, residents warned they will renew protests if drinking water service is not restored.

January 19, 2003, California:
Class War on the Streets after the Super Bowl!
OAKLAND: After the Oakland Raiders football team lost (48-21) in the Super Bowl, there was widespread rioting in the streets of Oakland. Crowds gathered on International Boulevard in East Oakland, taking over intersections and blocking the street. People danced to hip-hop music, hopped on cars, and waived Raiders flags. Police, who had preemptively shut down dozens of blocks of downtown Oakland, were quick to respond. Hundreds of police in riot gear moved in, firing volleys of tear gas and wooden bullets in an attempt to disperse the crowds. What had been a party turned into a pitched battle. As one man put it, "Hey we're all cool here. It's when the fucking pigs come down and start shooting at us that the shit starts." People threw bottles and rocks at police, frequently forcing them to retreat. A McDonalds was trashed and set on fire. Several cars were tipped over and burned. A number of police cars had their windows smashed. One police car that attempted to drive through an intersection filled with people was pelted with projectiles as people chanted "Fuck the police!" The rioters came from a diverse cross-section of Oakland's working class. Black and white, Asian and Latino, joined together against the universally hated Oakland Police Department. Children as young as eight could be seen hurling rocks toward police lines. "It's like fucking Bethlehem!" said one man. In the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the rioters are referred to as "trouble-makers" that "weren't from the neighborhood." The rioting lasted well into the night moving from place to place in over 50 blocks of East Oakland. At a late night press conference, the police announced that they had arrested more than 25 people. But they were outnumbered and outfought for hours.

January 29, 2003, Texas: Students Riot for Shorter Classes
A protest by about one thousand high-school students over the length of classes turned into a riot. The students walked out in protest in the morning. They attacked school security guards and cops with rocks and glass bottles. The police used tear gas against the crowd; seven pigs were treated for cuts and bruises. Evidently, the students were protesting a switch to block scheduling, which means longer classes.

February 8, 2003, Pennsylvania:
Two Marines Charged With Plotting To Bomb Base
TUNKHANNOCK: Two U.S. Marines from Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, are in custody after conspiring to use an explosive device at their base. Lance Cpls. Richard Morrison, 21, and Richard Thomas Medders, 22, were arrested along with Janna Rebecca Lynn Smith, 27, and charged with criminal conspiracy to cause or risk a catastrophe, and making terrorist threats and bomb threats. According to authorities, the three downloaded information from the Internet on making explosive devices and said they were going to use them at Camp Lejeune. All three are being held in the Wyoming County Correctional Facility. Morrison and Medders served in the 2nd Force Service Support Group, which provides combat support. Tunkhannock is about 25 miles northwest of Scranton in northern Pennsylvania.

February 21, 2003, Louisiana: Two Cops Killed & Five Others Injured during Kamikaze Attack

ALEXANDRIA: Two city pigs were killed, three more were wounded by gunfire, and several others were injured in a three-hour shoot-out with a gunman. The gunman, wanted by probation and parole officers, was also slain in the incident. Police didn't give the gunman's name, but sources were told that he was Shawn Molette, believed to be in his mid-20's. Three Special Response Team police cops were injured by gunfire as the gunman fired fully automatic weapons as they tried entering the house he was in. Residents in the area took cover as periodic bursts of gunfire rang out during the tense situation, which began shortly after noon and ended about 3:30 pm. A large crowd gathered to watch from a distance, as some of the crowd members yelled obscenities at the cops. The shoot-out is believed to have been connected with a morning shoot-out the day before, where an officer was ambushed but suffered only minor injuries. The gunman in both incidents is believed to be the same person, but it is unknown what sparked the siege on the police department. Prior to this wonderful day, the Alexandria Police Department had lost only four officers in the "line of duty" (service to the

State) since 1904. The Police Chief said about 300 rounds were fired in the first shooting exchanges between cops and the gunman. The incident began when cops blocked off a street and moved into a home to serve a search warrant. The warrant was in connection to a February 20 morning ambush on the pigs. In that incident, a pig answered a 911 call of a reported robbery in an area several blocks from the shootout site. The cop couldn't find a victim and was pulling out with his vehicle when a shooter opened fire. The pig was able to dive into the passenger side and drive away. His patrol car was riddled with bullets. The Chief Pig called the attack deliberate and

deployed his SRT team to protect detectives as they gathered evidence. In the February 21 incident, the SRT team, which has about 20 members, entered the house of the alleged assailant and was met by gunfire. Tear gas was deployed at one point during the stand-off. However, the incident did not end until the shooter was killed. At about 12:15 p.m., under misty skies, police scrambled to try to rescue three wounded cops from the scene while still facing the threat of the gunman. Two armored cars moved into the area and parked at a church near the house where the gunman was inside. Pigs near the church parking lot also scrambled to the ground as the gunman continued to shoot. About 2:26 p.m., police screamed that another cop was down. In all, seven pigs were shot. The stand-off continued for nearly another hour before the police were sure that the gunman was down. One local observer commented, "They should have used that guy (the gunman) to kill Osama bin Laden." The motives of the gunman are believed by some to be in protest of pig racism and brutality. "There is a deep, psychological problem based on abuse of young black males and females," a former Alexandria City councilman told the press. "This is a culmination of events prior to the Gregory Hunter incident," the former councilman said. Hunter is a black man who was beaten by off-duty police officers in the 1999 "Lee Street incident."

February 27, 2003, New Zealand:
"September 11" Group Threatens Cyanide Attacks
WELLINGTON: A group calling itself "September 11" sent threats to the US, Australian, and British embassies in New Zealand, warning that it had 55 pounds of cyanide to use against American interests if Iraq is attacked. A squad of "anti-terrorism" police is working to find the author of the threat contained in four letters that mentioned the America's Cup yacht race in Auckland. One letter contained cyanide crystals. This action is reminiscent of another threat of cyanide attack made last year in New Zealand, when an unidentified person or persons threatened to attack with cyanide the wealthy American athlete Tiger Woods, who was sponsored by Nike to perform at a New Zealand golf tournament. To our knowledge, nothing came of this threat.



SLOW BURNING FUSE

PRISONER UPRISINGS AND REVOLTS

"REVOLUTION IS NEVER BEGUN ANEW, ONLY CONTINUED WHERE OTHERS LEFT OFF."
—TOM MANNING, NORTH AMERICAN POLITICAL PRISONER

November 4, 2002, California: Pelican Bay Inmates Hold Hunger Strike

CRESCENT CITY: A group of sixty prisoners in the Control Unit of the Pelican Bay State Prison began a hunger-strike protesting the prison system's policy of classifying prisoners as gang members based on vague criteria and then indefinitely segregating them. For more info on the horrors of Pelican Bay Prison, read Derrick Jensen's book *The Culture of Make-Believe*.

November 5, 2002, California: Two Pigs Stabbed; Inmate-Guard Hostility on the Rise
LANCASTER: Inmates at the state prison attacked two guards — the second such incident in the past three months. The prison guards were attacked by two inmates early in the day while escorting prisoners to breakfast.

December 16, 2002, El Salvador: Two Cops Dead, Over 20 Injured in Salvador Prison Riot
SAN SALVADOR: Two pigs were killed and more than 20 people injured when hundreds of prisoners rioted during a reorganization of El Salvador's main Mariona prison in the capital. 23 people were hurt in the riot, which broke out when 1,200 police, soldiers and prison guards tried to move some of the most dangerous inmates to other centers. Police and soldiers fired tear gas and rubber bullets at the inmates, who were armed. Most of the injured were police and guards. By late afternoon, the situation was calm and police and prisoners were negotiating a solution through the state human rights prosecutor.

December 17-18, 2002, New York: Guards Mauled During Shakedown
Five guards at the Auburn State Prison were attacked while searching prisoners' cells for weapons. Two guards suffered minor hand injuries. The prison was locked down for a search on December 17 when a prisoner infected with HIV bit a guard on the face.

December 23-26, 2002, Guatemala: 17 Dead in Prison Riot

Prisoners launched a bloody uprising on December 23 at the Pavoncito prison in Guatemala's Fraijanes Municipality, 30 kilometers from the capital, to demand improved food and visiting hours, an investigation of corrupt and abusive guards, and the transfer of gang leader César Beteta Raymundo to another facility. Beteta was said to be widely hated by the other prisoners, many of them also gang members; he allegedly controlled the jail's "sector 5" by bribing guards and meting out severe punishment to any prisoner who defied him. Beteta and 16 other prisoners were killed in the uprising, while some 30 more were injured. Many of the bodies were mutilated with machetes, and some were burned. The gang prisoners allegedly decapitated Beteta and paraded his head around the prison. When police tried to regain control of Pavoncito, the prisoners fought back; as of December 26, the inside of the jail remained under the control of the prisoners, while 200 police agents stood guard outside to prevent escapes. Prison authorities were forced to suspend plans to carry out a search on December 26 for weapons at the jail, fearing it would be a provocation for further violence.

January 20-21, 2003, Brazil: 30 Rio Inmates Escape

RIO DE JANEIRO: Some 30 prisoners reportedly escaped from the Pedro Mello de Silva detention center in the Bangu borough of Rio de Janeiro city early on January 20. Twelve of the escapees had been recaptured as of January 21. Following the breakout, the remaining prisoners staged an uprising,

taking nine guards hostage to demand the transfer of prisoners to other facilities, better food, and the presence of journalists and representatives of human rights organizations. The prisoners released nine of the hostages and ended their protest on January 21 after extensive negotiations; it was unclear which, if any, of their demands were met.

January 21, 2003, Israel: Imperialist Repression Intensifies Following Jailbreak

RAMALLAH: Israeli security forces have been scrambling to find two Palestinians who escaped from the Ofer detention camp near the West Bank city of Ramallah. The two are believed to be members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Israeli forces temporarily imposed a curfew on Ramallah and were conducting comprehensive searches of the camp. Palestinians at the Ofer camp did some rioting in the weeks prior to this incident, and attempted to tear down a fence and escape. More than 700 Palestinians are held at this facility. Following the release of some of the detainees from this camp, Israeli human rights organizations began to receive information about the difficult conditions there and about the violent treatment of Palestinian detainees on the way to the camp and during detention. Among other things, detainees reported overcrowding in the tents where they were held. They reported that they were denied food for many hours and that some of them were forced to sleep outdoors. On April 5, 2002, the human rights group received information from an Israeli source about torture during interrogations in the camp. According to the information, investigators broke detainees' toes. Meanwhile, Israeli troops arrested 13 Palestinians in the West Bank. The arrests were made in Hebron, Jericho, Nablus and the Ramallah area. In a related development,

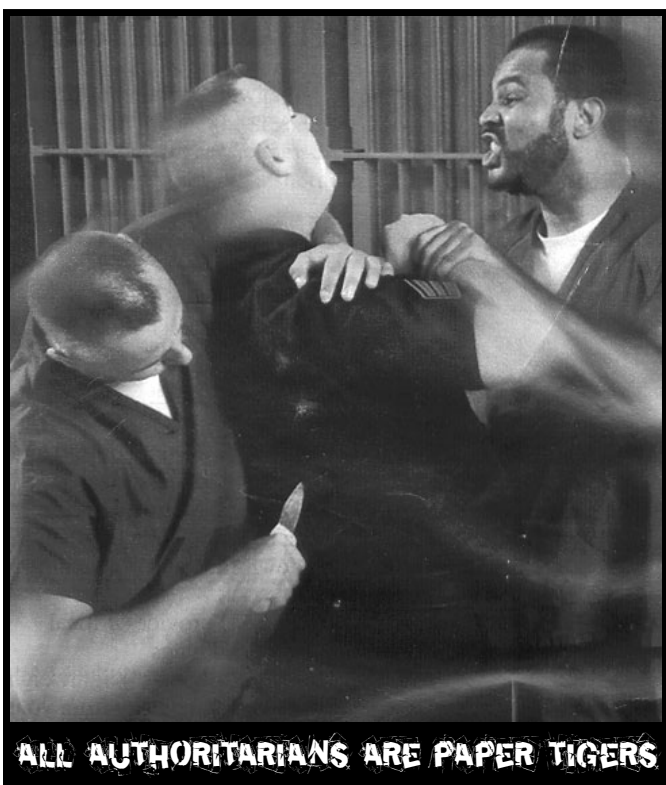


shops in the village of Nazlat Issa early the next day. By midmorning, 62 shops were demolished. Dozens of protesters threw stones at troops who fired tear gas and rubber-coated steel pellets.

January 22, 2003, Canada: Anti-Poverty Committee Acts In Solidarity With Persecuted Immigrants

When Immigration Canada walked an Iranian immigrant through the airport they were met by about 30 protesters from different groups. An unplanned scuffle ensued, and the immigrant was pulled free from the guard who was escorting her. Some protesters fled with her out of the airport. During the action there was a car accident, but all in the car escaped police custody. The immigrant turned herself in later that night with the accompaniment of two lawyers; it is still unclear as to what will

become of her case. This action bought this woman and her son a second chance to stay in Canada. The RCMP rounded up five people at the airport in connection with the protest and released two of them after an hour. Some protesters escaped while three were kept in jail for a night. It is not known what charges the state will bring down on those involved. The action wasn't planned to go down the way it did, as nobody thought they would even get to see the detained immigrants. When people saw her in handcuffs, they all reacted knowing the deportation endangers her life



ALL AUTHORITARIANS ARE PAPER TIGERS

and that of her son. Immigration Canada is threatening to deport over 2,500 British Columbians to Iran. Often they do this without notice, jailing people and deporting them giving no time to pack. Iran is not a safe country; many returning refugees are tortured or go missing.

January 22, 2003, Canada: Riot Rocks Jail

VANCOUVER ISLAND: A riot by about a dozen inmates at the Vancouver Island Regional Correctional Center caused \$40,000 damage to prison property. Three prisoners are now facing charges. The inmates were in a common area when the call came for lockdown at 10 p.m. But they refused to go back to their cells and began trashing the place. Of the 23 prisoners in the unit, up to half were involved in the riot. Some of the others locked themselves inside their cells to avoid being implicated in the trouble. Corrections officers negotiated a peaceful end to the incident by 1 a.m. The corrections spokesperson said the "living unit" pig on duty was slightly injured, but managed to call other police for help and lock himself in an empty cell for protection. The inmates in the remand unit have been charged with committing an offence, but have not yet been tried. Although they have not been determined guilty, they are kept in custody to ensure they appear in court and cannot commit another offence. All remand inmates are housed in secure facilities that emphasize control and separation.

January 23-24, 2003, Canada: Another Riot Breaks Out At Detention Center

MONTREAL: Three final prisoners were returned to their cells on the afternoon of January 23 following a late night riot at Montreal Detention Center. More than 100 corrections officers and provincial police were called in to control the situation after 131 prisoners refused to return to their cells and lit mattresses on fire. The trouble began after a few prisoners started a fight. After this incident some prisoners began throwing things, such as billiard balls and other solid objects. The prisoners then refused to enter their cells at their normal time of 10:30 p.m., and went on to light fires. Prisoners blocked access to the

wing with various materials. It took a long time to control the fires because the prisoners had to be detained before the firefighters could go inside. One prison guard had a minor injury to his hand. The riot caused tens of thousands of dollars worth of damage in the wing. The exact cause of the riot is still unknown. The prisoners held in the A-wing where the riot occurred are in custody awaiting sentencing. They were to be transferred from the damaged facility the next day to two prisons in Montreal and another in Hull, Quebec.

January 25, 2003, Georgia: Prisoners Riot at Jail

TBIUSI: Prisoners rioted in a jail in the nation of Georgia during a cell check for weapons, injuring 10 police and guards. At least 21 inmates were injured during the uprising. The clashes erupted when prisoners resisted the search at the Tbilisi detention center, during which police confiscated two submachine guns, three grenades, knives, drugs and other banned items. One riot policeman was in serious condition. Video footage that was taken by the Justice Ministry and aired on Georgian television, showed inmates banging the bars of their cells and flames shooting out a prison window. Riot police cordoned off the building where the battle took place, and Interior Ministry troops were deployed outside the center.

January 11-31, 2003, Chile: Political Prisoners on Hunger Strike

SANTIAGO: As of January 31, Chilean political prisoners Jorge Espínola Robles and Marcelo Gaete Mancilla were in the 21st day of a liquid-only hunger strike in isolation cells at the Colina II prison. They began the fast on January 11 after prison guards and police agents from the "Special Anti-Riot Group" beat them, sprayed them with cold water and moved them into the isolation cells in retaliation for alleged involvement in a riot earlier that day in Colina II. Eight social prisoners also accused of involvement in the riot were temporarily put in the same cell with Espínola and Gaete and were beaten by police and guards. Social prisoners were said to have plotted the January 11 riot to distract guards during an escape attempt. No one successfully escaped, but one guard and four prisoners were wounded, one of them critically.

February 18, 2003, France: Prisoners Riot, Smash Equipment

Rioting prisoners took control of part of a jail in eastern France during the evening, smashing equipment and prompting police to seal off the prison, the Justice Ministry said. The Ministry gave no information about any injuries in the riot involving about 50 prisoners at the Clairvaux jail in the Aube region. None of the prison's 156 inmates, all of whom are serving lengthy sentences, escaped, the Ministry said. It said the riot erupted when prisoners, apparently protesting disciplinary measures imposed on a detainee, refused to enter their cells. The rioters "smashed everything up," including security doors, surveillance cameras, electrical equipment and locks on cell-doors, said a guard and union representative at the prison.



FULL SPECTRUM DOMINATION!

State Repression & Political Prisoner News

December, 2002, Italy: Persecution Of Anarchists Intensifies

On December 12, an incendiary letter arrived at the office of the Spanish newspaper El Pais. Police defused it. A statement from a group calling itself Cells Against Capital, Prison, the Jailers and their Cells claimed that the action was done in solidarity with the struggles of Spanish prisoners against repressive prison policy.

- On December 13, an incendiary letter is sent to an office of the Spanish airline Iberia in Rome. It was defused.

- On December 14, another incendiary letter at the Iberia airlines in Milan's airport is defused. On December 16, two incendiary letters, one to Iberia airlines in Rome, and one to a national television station in Rome, are defused.

The police are saying that these incendiary letters were the work of insurrectionary anarchists who the cops call "terrorists". So more repression against the Italian anarchist movement is likely to take place. Therefore, we need to avoid speculations of any sort about "who was really behind these actions", since this could be used by Italian authorities against the anarchists they are persecuting.

- On December 18, after releasing most of those arrested in early December in relation to the 2001 G8 summit in Genoa, the court refused to release two anarchists being held. The reasons for their continued detention included participation in marches in support of prisoners such as Marco Camenisch, association with "insurrectionary anarchists" and the like. But probably the most absurd of the reasons -- the one given as the primary reason for not releasing Marina Cugnascchi -- was that she exercised her legal rights not to talk with interrogators and not to appear at her court hearing. According to the court this proved that "she wants to stay in prison in order to become a heroine for her comrades" -- this in spite of the fact that she had her lawyer request release.

Many of those arrested at Genoa in 2001 are being charged by the Italian State with a new crime called "psychic sharing". In accordance with this charge, it is not necessary to show that a certain individual carried out a specific act of destruction during a demonstration. It is only necessary to show that they were there at the time the event occurred, because clearly their mere presence helped and supported the masked people who destroyed things. Currently, the court in Genoa is issuing hundreds of warrants on this basis.

Again we want to point out the importance not to publicly speculate in any direction about who may have been behind the attacks mentioned above. There are currently anarchist comrades -- including the two above and over forty comrades charged in the Marini trial -- facing serious charges who could be affected by such speculation, so this is not a matter for idle chatter.

January, 2003, Texas: Chicano Political Prisoner Buried Alive In Solitary

GATESVILLE: Chicano political prisoner Alvaro Luna Hernandez has been transferred to "administrative segregation" as an alleged member of a "security threat group" (prison gang). Hernandez points to a prison official conspiracy to remove him from the general prison population in order to isolate him from the other prisoners, to discredit him in the eyes of the community supporters who have rallied in his defense in support of his release from prison on the police frame-up conviction and sentence of 50 years imprisonment for defending himself against an armed attack on his life by a racist sheriff. Hernandez is a known jailhouse lawyer who helps other prisoners with filings against the prison, and has been very vocal in exposing racist injustices and brutality against prisoners at the prison unit; he was also in the process of uncovering mass guard theft and corruption in the prison's operation of the craft shop. A petition seeking a new trial in his case is currently pending review in the federal court. For more information about the case log on to <http://www.freealvaro.org> or write directly to this freedom fighter: **Alvaro Luna Hernandez** #255735, Rt. 2, Box 4400, Gatesville, Texas 76587.

On January 9, 2003: Rob Thaxton and Brian McCarvill in "the Hole"

SALEM: Anarchists Rob Thaxton and Brian McCarvill were sanctioned with 120 days in the Disciplinary Segregation Unit at Oregon State Penitentiary. The offence listed on their Misconduct Reports is "Unauthorized Organization I," but the hearings officer told Rob that she had found him "guilty of continuing to be involved with the anarchist movement." The Oregon Department of Corrections, and Oregon State Prison in particular, have taken it upon themselves to act as thought police and punish people for their political views. The act which inspired this punishment is so petty as to be laughable: Rob and Brian had asked people to send them mail. When people responded by the dozens, the prisoncrats took offense and sent them to the hole.

January 15, Brazil: Indigenous Land Rights Activist Murdered

According to Survival International, Marcos Veron, 70, an important leader of the Guarani-Kaiowa tribe, was fatally shot by gunmen. He was the head of an indigenous community that has been trying for the last 50 years to reclaim their land from cattle ranchers. In 2002, Veron toured Europe to publicize the plight of the indigenous peoples of Brazil. Most recently, Veron and the Guarani-Kaiowa have been living on the side of a highway, after attempts to reoccupy parts of their land have been thwarted by armed pigs and soldiers. Veron is the third Brazilian Indian to be murdered since the start of the New Year. For more info: www.survival-international.org

January 25, Greece: Anarchist Sentenced For Sheltering Fugitive

ATHENS: An anarchist who in the summer of 2001 provided refuge for Greece's most wanted man was sentenced to six years and nine months in prison for sheltering a criminal on the run. Dimitris Polydoropoulos said he hid Costas Passaris in his flat after a mutual acquaintance asked for his help. "I agreed, as it was in accordance with my ideology to provide a roof to someone hunted by the authorities," he told the Athens court. "I had little to do with him, and knew neither about the guns nor the drugs he had in the flat." Police, who were seeking Passaris for the fatal shooting of two pigs during a dramatic escape from an Athens hospital, where he had been taken from prison for medical examinations, eventually found out about the hideout and set a trap for Passaris. But seven special squad officers positioned in the flat failed to catch him as he entered the darkened apartment, and Passaris eventually fled to Romania where he is now being tried for murder and armed robbery.

February 6, Greece: Two Suspected ELA Combatants Arrested

ATHENS: The suspected leader of a farleft guerrilla group blamed for more than 100 bombings was jailed on charges of belonging to a terrorist organization. Christos Tsigaridas, 64, who has admitted he was a member of the Revolutionary Popular Struggle, or ELA, was locked up in maximum security prison in Athens pending trial. The group is believed to have worked with Illich Ramirez Sanchez, the Venezuelan-born terrorist also known as Carlos the Jackal. Another suspect -- the mayor of the tiny Greek holiday island of Kimolos, Angeletos Kanas -- was also jailed on the same day for the same charges.

GREEN ANARCHY #12 - SPRING '03

Political Prisoners

Anarchist Prisoners:

Frank J. Atwood #62887, Arizona State Prison - Eyman, Box 3400 - SMU 2, Florence, AZ 85232. Radical involved in anti-establishment activities since the '60's. He was framed for murder in '84 and sent to Death Row.

Jerome White-Bey #37479, Jefferson City Correctional Center, PO Box 900 (5C-146), Jefferson City, MO 65102. Social prisoner turned dedicated anarchist activist. Founder of "Missouri Prison Labor Union."

James Johnson #8952263, SRCI, 777 Stanton Blvd., Ontario, OR 97914. Anarchist social prisoner active in resistance to the repressive policies of the prison administration.

Matthew Lamont #2057039, 550 N. Flower St., Santa Ana, CA 92703. Presently awaiting trial for allegedly planning to make a violent attack on a white supremacist gathering.

Ojure N. Lutalo #59860, POB 861, Trenton, NJ 08625. Black liberation anarchist. He's serving a lengthy sentence for various clandestine actions.

Robert Middaugh T41137 Bldg 410 23up, PO Box 8, Avenal, CA 93204. He's serving three years for an assault on a pig during the 2001 Long Beach May Day action.

Mike Rusniak DOC K88887, Dixon CC, 2600 Brinton, PO Box 1200, Dixon, IL 61021. Serving time for stealing a police car, and other acts of anti-government property-destruction.

Robert Thaxton #12112716, OSP, 2605 State Street, Salem, OR 97310. Long-time anarchist activist sentenced to seven years in prison for throwing a rock at a cop at a June 18, 1999 Reclaim the Streets protest in Eugene.

Harold Thompson #93992, Northwest Correctional Complex, Route 1, Box 660, Tiptonville, TN 38079. Serving multiple life sentences for clandestine resistance.

Thomas Tripp #12032560, TRCI, 82911 Beach Access Rd., Umatilla, OR 97882. Social prisoner turned dedicated anarchist. His sentence was lengthened because of his participation in a jailhouse riot aimed at winning concessions from the authorities, such as religious rights for Native Americans, and better educational programs.

Eco-Defense & Animal Liberation Prisoners:

Nathan Brasfield #202044100, King County Justice Center Detention Facility, 620 West James St., Kent, WA 98032. Arrested for felony theft of telecommunications in relation to the anti-HLS campaign.

Jennifer Greenberg #3100201610, Rose M. Singer Center, 1919 Hazen St., East Elmhurst, NY 11370. Sentenced to one year for his part in property destruction at an anti-HLS demonstration.

Charles Hoke #861206, ACH, Indiana Department of Correction, Indiana State Prison, PO Box 41, Michigan City, Indiana 46361-0041. Radical farmer serving time for robbing banks in order to support himself, and other farmers, who were being forced from their homes by developers.

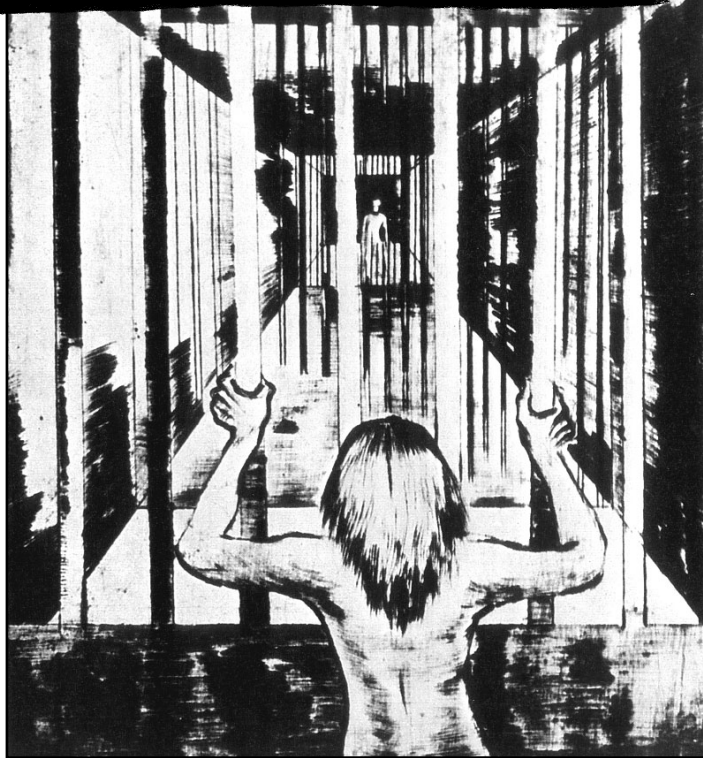
Ted Kaczynski #04475-046, US Pen-Admin Max Facility, PO Box 8500, Florence Colorado 81226. Sentenced to multiple lifetimes in prison for the "Unabomber" bombing attacks against industrialist scum.

Jeffrey Luers (Free) #13797671, OSP, 2605 State Street, Salem, OR 97310. Serving 22 years for politically motivated arsons on SUVs at Romania Chevrolet and an alleged attempted arson at Tyree Oil in Eugene, Oregon. Free is a long-time environmental activist who needs your support.

Craig Marshall (Crittter) #13797662, SRCI, 777 Stanton Blvd, Ontario, OR 97914. Serving a five-year sentence for a politically motivated arson attack against a Romania Chevrolet car dealership in Eugene.

Benjamin Persky #1410212600, George Vierno Center, 0909 Hazen St., East Elmhurst, NY 11370. Sentenced to 2-6 years for his part in property destruction at multiple anti-HLS demonstrations.

Peter Schnell #99476-111, FCI Otisville, PO Box 1000, Otisville, NY 10963. Animal liberation activist serving two years for being in possession of incendiary devices.



Joshua Schwartz #3100201611, NY State ID #1900738L, EMTC, 1010 Hazen St., East Elmhurst, NY 10013. Sentenced to one year for his part in property destruction at an anti-HLS demonstration.

Fran Thompson #93341, 1107 Recharge Rd., York, NE 68467. Eco-activist serving a Life sentence for shooting dead, in self-defense, a stalker who had broken into her home.

Helen Woodson #03231-045 FMC Carswell, POB 27137, Admin Max Unit, Fort Worth, TX 76127. Serving 27 years for robbing a bank and then setting the money on fire while reading out a statement denouncing greed, capitalism and the destruction of the environment.

Indigenous Prisoners:

William Burchett (Fire Walker) #03655032, West 5852, Federal Prison, PO Box 7000, Fort Dix, NJ 08640. Native American activist held under questionable circumstances.

Byron Shane Chubbuck #07909051, US Penitentiary, PO Box 1000, Leavenworth, KS 66048. Indigenous rights activist serving time for robbing banks in order to acquire funds to support the Zapatista rebellion in Chiapas, Mexico.

Eric Hall (Wildcat) BL-5355, Unit I/A 10745, Route 18, Albion, PA 16475-0002. Serving 35-75 years for helping ship arms to Central American resisters.

Eddie Hatcher #0173499, Unit #2, Pasquotank Correctional Institute, 527 Commerce Drive, Elizabeth City, NC 27906. Native American activist being framed for crimes he did not commit. Eddie is an incredible individual, and we urge you to check out his website at: www.eddiehatcher.org

Leonard Peltier #89637-132, PO Box 1000, Leavenworth, KS 66048. American Indian Movement (AIM) activist, serving two Life sentences, having been framed for the murder of two FBI agents.

Andy J. Riendeau (John Two Names) Native activist being framed for setting schools on fire. Right now he's in transition. Email us for his new address.

Tewahnee Sahme #11186353, TRCI, 82911 Beach Access Rd., Umatilla, OR 97882. Dedicated Native rights advocate serving time for a prison insurgency.

David Scalera (Looks Away) #13405480, TRCI, 82911 Beach Access Rd., Umatilla, OR 97882. Dedicated Native rights advocate serving time for a prison insurgency.

"I may run, but all the time that I am, I'll be looking for a stick! A defensible position! It's never occurred to me to lie down and be kicked! It's silly! When I do that I'm depending on the kicker to grow tired. The better tactic is to twist his leg a little or pull it off if you can. An intellectual argument to an attacker against the logic of his violence - or to myself concerning the wisdom of a natural counterviolence - borders on, no, it overleaps the absurd!" - George Jackson, July 28, 1970

Anti Imperialist & Anti-Capitalist Prisoners:

Kathy Boudin #894171, PO Box 1000, Bedford Hills, NY10507. Former Weather Underground activist serving time for being a passenger in a get-away van during the 1981 Brinks expropriation attempt in New York. Despite her work with incarcerated mothers and AIDS victims, she is still being denied early release by the authorities.

Marilyn Buck #00482-285, Unit B, 5701 8th Street, Camp Parks, Dublin, CA 94568. Serving 50 years to life for actions taken after she escaped prison herself including an armed robbery of a Brink's armored truck and the liberation of Assata Shakur from prison.

Judy Clark #83-G-313, PO Box 1000, Bedford Hills, NY 10507. Former Weather Underground member.

Bill Dunne #10916-086, PO Box 33, Terra Haute, IN 47808. Anti-authoritarian activist sentenced to 90 years for the attempted liberation of a prisoner in 1979.

Larry Giddings #10917-086, PO Box 1000, Lewisburg, PA 17837. Anti-authoritarian prisoner serving 75+ years for revolutionary action.

David Gilbert #83A6158, Attica Correctional Facility, PO Box 149, Attica, NY 14011. Serving time for clandestine actions against imperialism and capitalism.

William Gilday P.O. Box 1218, MCI Shirley, Shirley, MA 01464-1218. Jailed for the shooting of a cop during a 1970 bank expropriation intended to fund the movement against the Vietnam War.

Alvaro Luna Hernandez #255735, Hughes Unit, Rt. 2, Box 4400, Gatesville, TX 76597. Chicano-Mexican freedom-fighter serving time for a frame-up to stop his effective organizing in the Barrios.

Yu Kikumura #090008-050, PO Box 8500 ADX, Florence, CO 81226. Alleged member of the Japanese Red Army.

Sara Olson W94197, 506-27-1 Low, CCWF, PO Box 1508, Chowchilla, CA 93610-1508. Serving 20+ years for clandestine actions related to the (now long defunct) Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA). Her & other former SLA associates were recently captured by authorities and are being persecuted for crimes they supposedly committed decades ago.

Juan Segarra Palmer #15357-077, PO Box 819, FCI-Med. A-3/4, Coleman, FL. Puerto Rican activist arrested in 1985 and accused of seditious conspiracy and conspiracy to rob the Wells Fargo Company. He was sentenced to 55 years in prison.

Oscar Lopez Rivera #87651-025, Box 33, Terre Haute, IN 47808. Puerto Rican activist arrested in 1981 and sentenced to 55 years for seditious conspiracy. In 1988 he was given an additional 15 years for conspiracy to escape.

United Freedom Front (UFF) Prisoners:

The following three individuals are serving huge sentences for their role in actions carried out by the (UFF) in the 1980's. The UFF carried out solidarity bombings against the US government on a variety of issues. All of these individuals are excellent people to write to and will answer letters.

Jaan Karl Laaman W41514, Box 100, South Walpole, MA 0207.

Ray Luc Levasseur #10376-016, Box PMB, Atlanta, GA 30315.

Thomas Manning #10372-016, Box 4000, Springfield, MO 65801.

Richard Williams #10377-016, 3901 Klein Blvd., Lompoc, CA 93436.

Black Liberation Prisoners:

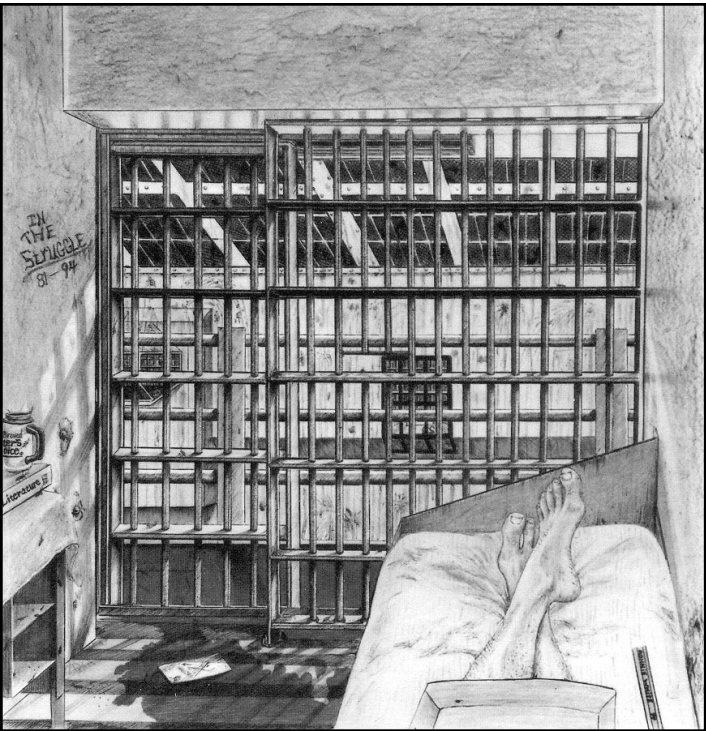
Most of the following prisoners are serving time for "crimes" in the name of black liberation. Many of them are former members of either the Black Liberation Army (BLA), or the Black Panther Party (BPP), or both. They are either in prison for their clandestine actions against the state and the racist pigs, or because they have been framed by the authorities.

Jamil Abdullah Al-Amin #EF492521, Georgia State Prison, 100 Georgia Hwy 147 - Reidsville, GA 30499-9701. Former Black Panther and community activist being framed for the murder of a cop. Jamil is formerly known as H. Rap Brown.

Sundiata Acoli #39794-066, PO Box 3000, USP Allenwood, White Deer, PA 17887, USP Allenwood. He's a BLA POW.

Zolo Azania #4969, Indiana State Prison, PO Box 41, Michigan City, IN 46361-0041. Community activist being framed for murdering a pig.

Hanif Shabazz Bey (Beaumont Gereau) #295933, Wallens Ridge State Prison, PO Box 759, Big Stone Gap, VA 24219. Imprisoned for actions carried out against US colonialism in the Virgin Islands.



Romaine "Chip" Fitzgerald B-27527, Salinas VSP-B2131, PO Box 1040, Soledad, CA 93960-1040. Former BPP member serving time for the death of a cop.

Bashir Hameed (J. York) #82A6313, Box 149, Attica, NY, 14011-0149. BPP & BLA POW who has been incarcerated since 1981 for killing of a cop.

Robert Seth Hayes #74A2280, Clinton Correctional Facility, PO Box 2000, Dannemora, NY 12929. Captured and convicted in 1973 under a host of charges, attributed to membership in the BLA.

Mumia Abu-Jamal AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 East R. Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090. Framed for the murder of a pig. He was recently taken off death row and is waiting for re-sentencing.

Sekou Odinga #05228-054, 3901 Klien Blvd., Lompoc, CA 93436. Former BLA sentenced to 25-to-Life for shooting a cop in self-defense, and also an additional 20 years for the liberation of comrade Assata Shakur and the expropriation of an armored truck.

Ed Poindexter #110403, 7525 4th Ave, Lino Lake, MN 55014-1099, Minnesota. Correctional Facility. Former BPP member falsely accused of killing a pig.

Mutulu Shakur #83205-012, Box PMB, Atlanta, GA 30315. Sentenced to 60 years imprisonment for an alleged conspiracy by the BLA & the New Afrikan Freedom Fighters against the U.S. government.

Russel Maroon Shoats #AF-3855, SCI Green, 1040 E. Roy Furman Highway Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090. BLA POW.

Keith Thomas CDC-Number T-67081, FDAS D-6 Cell-246U, PO Box 7700, Wasco, CA 93280. Former gang member serving time for threatening to kill corrupt authorities.

Herman Wallace #76759, CCR Upper C Cell 1, Louisiana State Penitentiary, Angola, LA 70712. Former BPP member and one of the infamous "Angola Three".

Gary Watson #098990, Unit SHU17, Delaware Correctional Center, 1181 Paddock Rd., Smyrna, DE 19977. Social prisoner turned black liberationist. One of the infamous "Smyrna Five" (S-5), a group of radical Blacks that retaliated against authorities for the death of George Jackson.

Albert Woodfox #72148, CCR Upper B Cell 13, Louisiana State Penitentiary, Angola, LA 70712. Former BPP member and one of the infamous "Angola Three".

MOVE Prisoners:

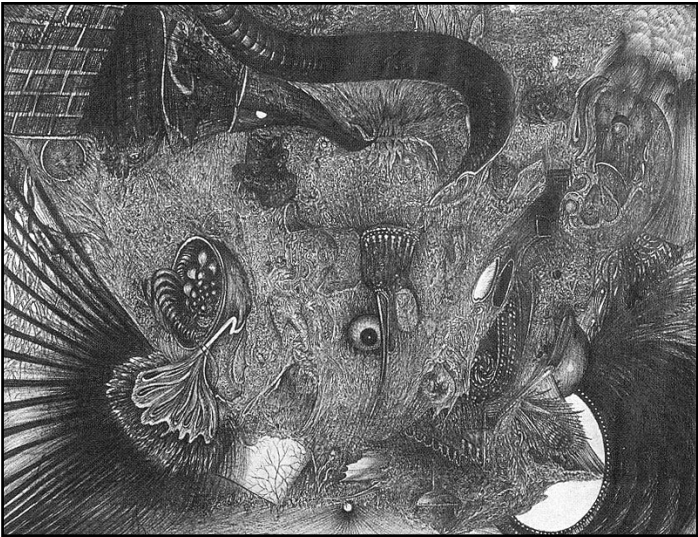
MOVE is a radical, ecological movement that has been attacked by the Philadelphia Police since its inception. Nine members were convicted and sent to prison for life following a 1978 siege at their house in which one cop was killed by another cop. One of those nine, Merle Africa, died in prison after not being treated for a health issue.

Debbie Simms Africa #006307, **Janet Holloway Africa** #006308, **Janine Philips Africa** #006309, SCI Cambridge Springs, 451 Fullerton Ave, Cambridge Springs, PA 16403-1238.

Michael Davis Africa AM4973, **Charles Simms Africa** AM4975 SCI Grateford, PO Box 244, Grateford, PA 19426-0244.

Edward Goodman Africa AM4974, SCI Camp Hill, PA 17011-0200.

William Philips Africa AM4984, **Delbert Orr Africa** AM4985, SCI Dallas Drawer K, Dallas, PA 18612.



Jalil Muntaqim (Anthony Bottom) #77A4283, Box 338, Napanoch, NY, 12458. Former Black-Panther who is accused of participating in illegal underground activities. He has been in jail for 22 years, which makes him one of the oldest political prisoners in the U.S.

Joseph Bowen AM-4272, 1 Kelley Drive, Coal Township, PA 17866-1021. Former BLA combatant.

Marshall Edward Conway #116469, Box 534, Jessup, MD 20794. Maintains his innocence of a police murder in 1970. He asserts that he is one of many political prisoners in the USA as a result of F.B.I.'s war against the BPP.

Mondo We Langa (David Rice) #27768, Box 2500, Lincoln, NE, 68542-2500. Former BPP member falsely accused of killing a pig.

Abdul Majid (Anthony Laborde) #83-A-0483, Upstate Correctional Facility, Box 2001 Malone, NY 12953. Former BPP member serving time for a crime he did not commit. Another victim of the COINTELPRO wars against the BPP.

Ruchell Cinque McGee A-92051, PO Box 7500, SHU-2-C-233, Crescent City, CA 95531. Serving time for a courthouse action to free incarcerated black liberationists.

THE GREY RULES OF HISTORY EXIST ONLY TO BE BROKEN

Some Prisoner Support Groups:

Anarchist Black Cross Federation/LA Chapter PO Box 3671, Anaheim, CA 92803-3671. Email: la_blackcross@yahoo.com Branch of the larger political prisoner support federation ABCF.

Anarchist Black Cross Network/Austin Chapter PO Box 19733, Austin, TX 78760. Excellent branch of the larger ABCN prisoner-support network. Write to them or visit their web-site to find out more: www.anarchistblackcross.org

Anarchists Prisoner Legal Aid Network (APLAN) 818 SW 3rd Avenue, Portland, OR 97204. Email: weneversleep@zipclip.com Very important anarchist & anti-capitalist prisoner support group.

Break The Chains Prisoner Support Group PO Box 11331, Eugene, OR 97401. Email: breakthechains02@yahoo.com Visit the web-site at: www.breakthechains.net Organizing to support political prisoners in general, West Coast political prisoners in particular.

Chicago Anarchist Black Cross PO Box 721, Homewood, IL 60430. A very solid prisoner-support group.

Free's Defense Network: PO Box 50263, Eugene, OR 97405. This is the newly formed support group for Oregon political prisoner Jeffrey "Free" Luers. Be sure to check out their web-site: www.freefreenow.org

Friends of MOVE PO Box 9709, Philadelphia, PA 19143. Friends & supporters of the MOVE organization and their prisoners.

Out Of Control Lesbian Committee 3543-18th St., Box 30, San Francisco, CA 94110. Dykes supporting women prisoners and political prisoners of all stripes. They publish the *Out Of Time* newsletter, amongst other things.

Prison Activist Resource Center PO Box 339, Berkeley, CA 94701. Web-page: www.prisonactivist.org Excellent resource for info about anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist prisoners.

Rob Los Ricos Enterprises PO Box 50634, Eugene, OR 97405. Support group for anarchist prisoner Rob Thaxton, AKA Rob Los Ricos.

State Repression & Political Prisoner News - Continued -

February 7, California: Radical Queers Bashed By Cops

SAN FRANCISCO: Police bashed gay activists protesting Gavin Newsom at the San Francisco Lesbian-Gay-Bi-Transgender-Queer Center in the Castro. Police attacked 40 members of the radical anti-capitalist queer group Gay Shame that gathered to protest the policies of Supervisor Gavin Newsom. Two lesbians were visibly bleeding from the mouth after being beaten by the San Francisco Police Department. Gavin Newsome was ushered in the doors of the center by Police escort. People then tried to enter their own center to voice their opposition to Gavin's policies. The police began beating back and blocking the door to the activists. Police pushed the activists into the oncoming traffic on Market Street and began aggressively hitting the queer activists. More police arrived and continued striking at queer activists in the street until eventually the situation calmed down and the activists continued to protest the policies of Gavin Newsom, who has ushered in an era in San Francisco which has declared open warfare on the homeless, and has now manifested itself in hate crimes conducted under the cover of the badge.

March 2, Italy: Woman Held After Train Shoot-out

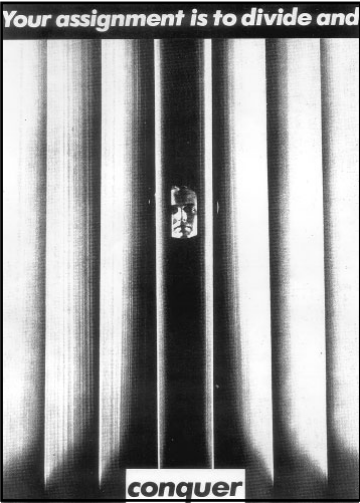
ROME: A woman arrested after a cop was shot dead on a train is believed to be a member of the revived far-left Red Brigades group. The woman's companion opened fire as police carried out routine checks on the train, going from Rome to Florence. He was injured by the police and later died at the hospital. The pair are suspected of having links to two recent political killings.

March 3, Greece: Trial Begins for November 17 Revolutionary Group

ATHENS: Nineteen alleged members of the November 17 Revolutionary Group have gone to trial for assassinations and bombings dating back 30 years. The 19 are on trial before a special tribunal at a high-security prison, accused of killings and bomb and rocket attacks which have killed 23 people. The group's alleged leader Alexandros Giotopoulos denies about 1,000 charges. Wealthy capitalists, powerful politicians, and military personnel have been attacked by the anti-imperialist group. (See GA # 10 and #11)

Oregon: Jacob Sherman Buckles Under Pressure; Tre Arrow Is Still On The Run

PORTLAND: As has been reported in recent issues of GA, during the late summer of 2002 the authorities alleged that four people, Jacob Sherman, Jeremy Rosenbloom, Angela Marie Cesario and Tre Arrow had been involved with an arson attack against logging trucks in Eagle Creek in 2001. No group has ever claimed responsibility for this arson. Because of these allegations Jacob, Jeremy and Angela were all arrested and charged before being released on bail. However, the police failed to locate Tre Arrow who is "on the run". After the initial arrests the authorities brought further subsequent charges against Jacob Sherman and Tre Arrow, who they blame for another arson in 2001, this time against Ross Island Sand & Gravel trucks in Portland. This arson was claimed by the Earth Liberation Front. As a result of these raids/arrests, one of the accused, Jacob Sherman, on the 4th of December 2002, pleaded guilty to his involvement in the arsons. Jacob was sentenced on February 20, 2003, to 40 months imprisonment. Jacob Sherman has entered into a "cooperation agreement" with the authorities, and unfortunately it appears that he is selling out the movement to save his own cowardly ass.

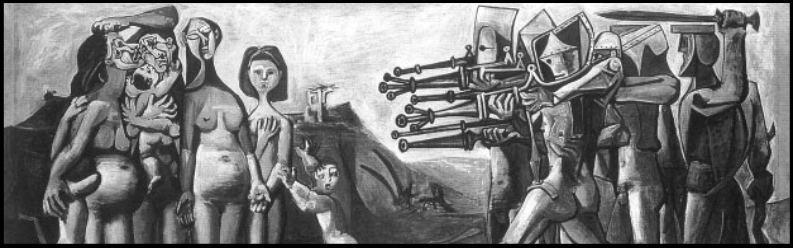


Support Byron Shane Chubbuck!

Byron Shane Chubbuck, AKA Oso Blanco, is currently serving 80 years for aggravated assault on Federal Agents, escape and bank robbery. Chubbuck, also known as "Robin the Hood" by authorities, was robbing banks to funnel money to the Zapatista National Liberation Army in Chiapas, Mexico, between 1988 and 1999. After being caught in late 1999 (after robbing 14 banks), Chubbuck escaped from a prison van in New Mexico (his home state) and almost immediately began knocking off banks again. Chubbuck, who was well known as a polite and courteous robber and never carried a gun, was recaptured in 2001 during a shoot out with police. The police, apparently, had discovered his whereabouts after Chubbuck attempted to contact a radio show host to speak out about indigenous rights and the treatment of prisoners. In an newspaper interview, Chubbuck claimed "I am still able to hold my head up and feel the gratification for my work in a world where money, power and destructive industry are regarded far above humanity, indigenous and impoverished peoples and cultures. I cannot help that I got into my work." For more info, write directly to: **Byron Shane Chubbuck** #07909051, USP, PO Box 1000, Leavenworth, KS 66048.

Eddie Hatcher's Statement Of Solidarity With Native Prisoners In Oregon

" Last year eight Native American prisoners took over and destroyed a housing unit at Oregon's newest "super prison" -- Two Rivers Correctional Institution. The desperate rebellion was the direct result of oppressive actions and conditions by the prison against the Native prisoners. The prison refused to allow Native prisoners to peacefully and respectfully practice their religion. They were prohibited from possessing and using their religious items. The prison staff constantly showed blatant disrespect to the Native American prisoners, their religion, their religious practices and their religious items. You would think this type of oppressive, genocidal tyrannical conduct would not be taking place anywhere in America but especially not in a state that projects itself as so progressive. I am calling on everyone to please contact the Oregon Department of Corrections and demand that the abusive and unjust treatment of David Scalera, Arapaho Nation; Tewahnee Sahme, Warm Springs Nation and all Native American Prisoners in the state of Oregon immediately stop. Please let Oregon officials know that we are watching." Contact: **Oregon Department of Correction Central Administration Office**, 2575 Center Street NE Salem, OR 97301-4667. Tel: 503-945-9090. Fax: 503-373-1173. Email: DOC.info@doc.state.or.us



Pull the Plug!

At the moment i happen to be out here with y'all - just another prisoner of the BIG CAGE! i'm broke right this minute cause i was just released from one of the little cages, all because i had a little green (10 kilos = 3 years) - i love what you're doing - send me a copy of your rag. I want to be a part of G.A. I detest the Machine - **PULL THE PLUG!**

- Green Willow

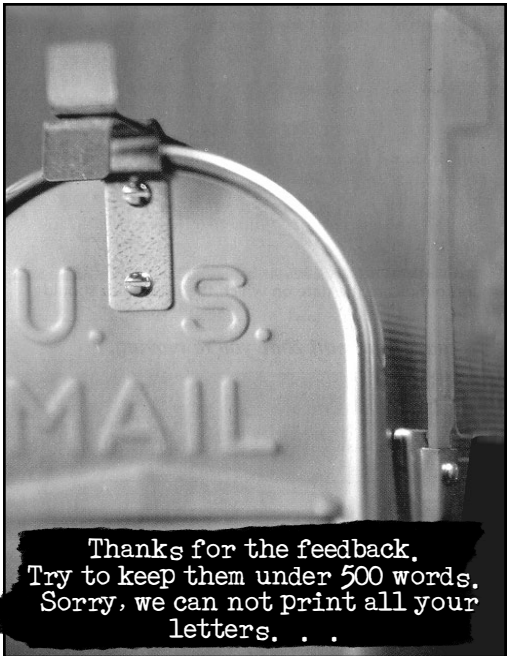
An Open Letter
To All Post-Modern Cynics

Dear GA:

It's kind of scary that your publication is one of the few who actually address the problems with modern reality. I find it hard to get my friends to flip through it, I don't think they're used to reading vitally important material in a newspaper. I think you should have a section devoted to the deaths of cynical pricks because they are constantly laughing away the most important conversations we could be having. Maybe when their fragmented selves begin to feel like shards of glass in their sides, perhaps then they'll embrace fundamental change.

In Resistance,
A friend

P.O. BOX 11331
collective@greenanarchy.org
EUGENE, OR 97440



Militant Resistance and Anarchy?

In this letter I will explain the bare basics of militant anarchist organization and critique current delusions so-called militants have today. First dump your preconceived notion of what society will look like "after the revolution." Admit you have no idea and let's move on. This needs to be very clear. It is necessary for anarchists to collaborate with people and organizations outside of their box, that may have either never heard of anarchism or have serious reservations about it. There is a common misconception that if you are not an anarchist (or worse, you aren't a part of a sect of anarchism!), you have this insidious plan to seize power from people and execute all dissidents. Understand that anarchism came from European thinking and, up until recently, it has only been discussed among white people. Many people of color are communist or simply anti-imperialist. Many of their groups aren't opposed to anarchism as much as they are trusting white people who have been betraying people of color long before Nestor Makno was betrayed by the Bolshevik Party and long after. I needn't list these atrocities, but you can believe me when I say they are more numerous than communist against anarchist. In the last issue of GA John Zerzan commented on Subcommandante Marcos' Maoism and N17's unclear politics. Both organizations have never espoused dogmatic or sectarian ideals - which are the foundations of authoritarianism - but rather they have set themselves short-term goals. The above organization's actions and intentions have clearly been for the benefit and liberation of the people, and I have yet to see otherwise. They are urban and rural guerillas, not politicians. Zerzan doesn't have hands-on experience in these activities, nor with the people of those regions (Greece and Chiapas). If you can do better go for it. In other words, don't be a hater, be a player. Moving on, we have questions that deal with the present situation that do need answers. In an article in the last issue I heard someone attack organization. I believe we must be organized militarily to defeat a well organized enemy. The questions however are valid. "What are we organizing, whom are we organizing, and why are we organizing?" I will put it more simply: What are we opposing? What we are opposing actually complements whom we are organizing. We are opposing imperialism in all forms. From the colonialism in Palestine to the neo-colonialism in Chiapas. The British soldiers in Ireland and the S.W.A.T. units in Los Angeles, the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Pine Ridge and the correctional officer in the state pen. These are the muscles the imperialists use to keep the people down. Their occupations in our communities, in full force and armed to the teeth, creates an illusion of invulnerability around the oppressor. Who are we organizing? The oppressed youth in the community. Understand by community, I mean communities that are facing imperialism and mass scale oppression. Not middle-class suburban areas and student towns, though youth activists from these areas, who have yet to ascend privilege of middle-class life, can most definitely be recruited and organizational skills are needed. What are our goals? Since it's a question of what do we as a military organization have to offer the community rather than what we want to impose on them, it is the first task of the revolutionary to understand who and what is the people's enemy. Usually this will mean military goals based on the alleviation/elimination of occupying forces, who the people (especially youth) in the area of operation consider oppressive enemies. Alleviating poverty, through expropriation of funds from banks and other wealthy institutions, help free people's time usually spent laboring for small wages (especially single mothers). Thereby creating room for active engagement or support in the community by blatantly exposing the oppressor's vulnerability, and discouraging enemy operation in the community through retaliation by the people. It is the author's opinion that it is impossible for a revolutionary community to exist

But if anarchists refuse to
work with the authoritarians,
who else is there?
- Barricada #21, pg 12



unless it is impossible for the enemy to resume offensive operations in the community without disruption. It is historically proven that the enemy will use violent methods against revolutionary communities, and for those who only use defense or no defensive rules, this leads to eventual elimination. The best defense is a good offense. The current culture of militancy in the anarchist movement is a failure. This is due to a lack of training, experience, purpose, recruits, popular support, direction, equipment, strategy and an inclusive organizational structure. This author is extremely critical of decentralized cell structures for use in liberation armies. This structure is only useful for small-scale sabotage, because potential for training, and acquiring equipment is extremely remote due to the cells' inability to share resources, and also because of a lack of accountability. Actions outside of sabotage would be a danger to the community. Offensive operations against forces of occupation by anarchists have mostly been in the form of black bloc, whose activities are merely vandalism, random hooligan actions, and extremely primitive assaults. The tactics they use against the well-armed and prepared police/military forces lack any surprise, and the weaponry used is outdated over a millennia. Clearly all of this must change. In countries where funds and equipment are not only abundant, but ridiculously underguarded, it is strange indeed to see self-proclaimed militants armed with only sticks, while in countries like Nepal, at least the Maoist guerrillas have armed themselves with muskets. As humorous as it sounds, it has not stopped the enemy from taking advantage of the situation - there have been three cases of extremely strict punishments for crimes most of society would consider petty: Jeffrey Luers' 23 year sentence for burning three SUVs, his co-defendant Craig Marshall's six year sentence, and Robert Thaxton's seven years for throwing a rock at a pig. Clearly the state saw these individuals as people willing to take the situation into their own hands and the magnitude was irrelevant. I will not get into favorable guerrilla organizational structures, and tactics because that would require too much space, especially since it would have to cover two different types of terrain (i.e. urban and rural) which requires entirely different tactics. This letter is purely meant to push people towards that study. Many POWs have knowledge and skill in these areas of study. I would be a fool if I didn't say these people needed support in the forms of money, literature and/or being liberated. At the very least they must be heard. Lack of prisoner support is not only disturbing, but also a waste of valuable skills. If you want to learn about illegal skills look to Ojure Lutalo, not Noam Chomsky. So I hope you have helped in the right direction.

-Anonymous Political Prisoner

Editors' Note: For the word "anarchist" throughout this letter substitute "marxist-leninist" (or any of its variants, like "stalinist" or "maoist"). The piece would then make sense, for there is little that is anarchist or anti-authoritarian about it.

In fact, this is an example of the regrettable trend whereby the word "anarchist" is losing its meaning. Because opposition today is chiefly anarchist, even those on the authoritarian Left seem to be willing to cloak themselves with the "A" word, incredible as that is.

Early on, a classic stalinist-style justification for the betrayal and murder of anarchists by leftists (a staple of 20th century history) is presented. People of color have suffered horrific oppression well before anarchists did, therefore the latter shouldn't complain!

If this isn't abhorrent enough, the writer goes on to list virtually every negative facet of the organizational fetish so dear to many on the left. For example, the manipulative practice of "recruiting," which sees individuals as so many potential cogs to be fitted to a pre-designed machine; the arrogance of knowing what to do "for the benefit and liberation of the people", instead of honoring autonomy and self-direction; even an exclusive focus on "we as a military organization" - all of this is a grotesque list of failed, top-down prescriptions from those who dream of assuming state power.

Fortunately, this anti-anarchist perspective (despite its absurd claim to the contrary) is meeting a well-deserved extinction. It is a mini case-study in what to avoid, an offensive parody of anarchy. Exactly what Green Anarchy is not about.

My Struggle, Our Struggle
It's Very Much the Same

Hullo. I will try to keep this as short as I can. I have questions, and stories, and more questions. I'll save the important ones for this email...

sigh

I could prattle on intelligently, or so it may seem, but I'm not going to. I'm going to stick to my confusion, and let it take the form of a small cry for help, because that's what it is. I know that no one can make decisions for me, or tell me how to live my life, because that's something that I have to do for myself, but it just feels like I have no direction, nowhere to go, no one to talk to who really understands. I practice direct action wherever and whenever I can, but I feel extremely limited in the things that I can do. I have a child. He is about to be four. I am 23 years old, and still figuring out life for myself. Now I have an added responsibility to make sure that my son has the means to figure things out for himself, but I feel that he needs direction and guidance... something I feel I am unable to give him.

My thoughts are increasingly extreme, my views on the world, and capitalism and *shudder* globalization, even though I am relatively uninformed, comparatively. Most of my thought comes from speculation, about things that I perceive in the system, in the unstableness of the market, in the conspiracies that surround the tragedy that was last year... it's these thoughts that set me apart from my family, and my son's family, and maybe even my son. I feel that if I don't conform, and work, and make money like I am encouraged to do, then I am letting him down. He will grow up thinking that his mother is some wacko and he will be alienated from me. But I can't let these things go unnoticed! I can't put these things out of my head, I have taken the red pill and there is no going back.. I cannot simply forget these things that I know...

It makes me sad, and angry, that people like me who think "outside the 'fucking' BOX," people like you who put this magazine out, are the ones who have to try and fix what 10,000 years of civilization has wrought, and sometimes I think we will never be rid of it...

I don't know what my question is. I guess I was just hoping to vent my frustrations, and maybe get some feedback. I am hoping to reach someone(s) who can talk with me, discuss, help me to get my feelings out so that I can get them straight... maybe there is someone there...

Full of rage and hope,
P

A note from Oscar

Companeros/as:

Thank you for sharing your paper with me. Keep up the work and the struggle.
!PAZ PARA VIEQUES & PARA EL MUNDO!
En resistencia y lucha,
-Oscar Lopez Rivera #87561-024,
United States Penitentiary,
PO Box 33, Terra Haute,
Indiana 47808.

Editor's note: Oscar Lopez Rivera was drafted into the U.S. army and served in Vietnam. When he returned from the war in 1967, he found that the conditions in the Puerto Rican community had reached dire levels and immediately set to work organizing to improve the quality of life for his people. He worked in the community against drugs and police brutality. He was arrested in 1981 and sentenced to 55 years for seditious conspiracy. In 1988 he was given an additional 15 years for conspiracy to escape. His release date is 2021. Since 1986, Oscar has been in the most repressive maximum-security prisons in the country. Last year Oscar completed 13 years of solitary confinement, having been kept in a cell the size of the average bathroom for 22 hours every day. In 1998, Bill Clinton granted clemency to 11 Puerto Rican political prisoners before he stepped down from presidency. Oscar was offered a 10-year sentence reduction in exchange for an apology to the US government for his acts of sedition. He refused the offer.

SCAVENGING
ROADKILL

FROM "FERAL FORAGER: A GUIDE TO
LIVING OFF NATURE'S BOUNTY IN URBAN,
RURAL AND WILDERNESS AREAS"

Roadkill holds an intriguing place in the collective consciousness of the modern world. An unavoidable result of car culture, roadkill is so common that most people don't notice it anymore as they zoom past it distracted by cell phones, radios and clogged highways. We have found that it's easy to become desensitized and ignore the violent and gruesome slaughter of millions of wild animals every year as they try to cross the steadily increasing number of roads en route to water sources, and on their migratory paths. After beginning to actually eat roadkill, we realized how much is really out there that our eyes usually gloss over. It is this profound detachment from the brutal reality of roadkill (or is it subconscious denial?) that sparked our desire to eat our first roadside casualty.

There are other reasons to eat roadkill besides this somewhat esoteric justification:
It's FREE!

Wild meat is satisfying, and for many of us vegans who don't get enough protein (yes, I know the average American gets TOO much!) it's a healthful protein fix, minus the chemicals and drugs in commercial meat. Blood type and ancestry can require more or less protein for optimal health. Also, significant research is now showing that Vitamin B12 can only be found in animal organs, contrary to the previous consensus of vegan nutrition experts. Energy flows through all living beings, connecting us intimately. The food we eat is absorbed into our blood and feeds our cells. Eating a wild animal can nourish our cells in ways our bodies haven't known in millennia.

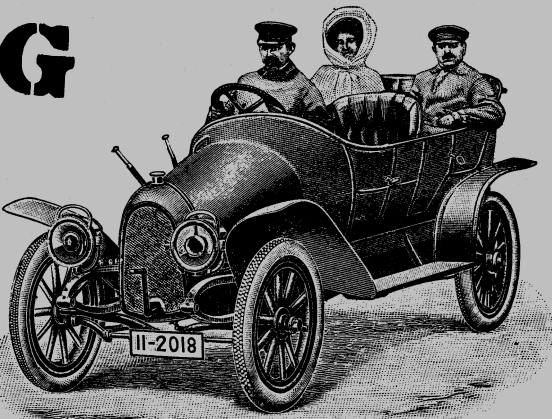
Eating roadkill challenges our society's taboos concerning what is fit and unfit to eat. In the same spirit as dumpster-diving, we salvage the waste products of our decadent culture, while the wealthy turn their noses up at us and purchase chemical-laden slaughterhouse products. Conventional meat products carry with them the suffering of the factory farm, exuding stress and misery in every tissue and cell. This misery transfers itself to the plate of the consumer, infecting billions worldwide with the same neurotic trauma of domestication. At least an animal killed on the highway lived wild and free until the point of impact.

IS ROADKILL
VEGAN?

As for vegan ethics and roadkill, we think its all about the motivations behind your veganism. After many years of active veganism, we feel that while it can indeed be the healthiest choice for some, for others this may not be the case, and in fact, veganism is not generally practiced by primitive people, historically or currently. Most primitive cultures ate far more wild plant matter than animal, but even in the tropics, where edible plants are abundant and the warm climates are compatible with a mostly vegetarian diet, people regularly ate insects and bird eggs. What we believe strongly is that primitive cultures thrived without dairy products, so in that respect, we are enthusiastically vegan. Defining veganism as a practice rather than an ideology makes the most sense to us. At this place and time, it is indeed the more ecological choice when choosing between that and domestic meat-eating — even organic and free-range. But can we say the same for the indigenous of Siberia or the Arctic? In any case, where roadkill is concerned, there is really no ecological argument against it (well, except for maybe that it steals food from vultures and crows! But we leave the really mangled stuff for them anyway...).

HOW IT ALL BEGAN

Our first feral feast of roadkill was on spring equinox of 2002. That past winter we had experimented with skinning and tanning, using a possum and a raccoon we had found on the roadside. Years earlier I had been at an earth first! rendezvous where some folks hit a deer on the way there.



They drove into the gathering with it strapped to the roof of their car, and after some controversy, were relegated to a distant hilltop to roast it on a spit. I ate some then, and remember thinking little of its ethics. Still, I would never have thought of actually stopping a car to pick up roadkill to eat. Thankfully I never killed any animals that I knew of while driving. So on spring equinox my partner, Ursus and I were driving

in the suburbs of a large southeastern city and spotted a fox, dead on the roadside. Our first thought was what a great fur it would make. We scraped it up (it wasn't very mangled at all) and took it to our friends' house downtown, and Ursus skinned it in the backyard while our friends assisted. When it was all done and hanging gutless and skinless from a tree, it was like some collective epiphany: why not eat it? There was a great firepit there and several willing "freegans", along with a few pretty hard-core vegans (including Ursus) who raised no protest. After a couple hours on a spit (a stick shoved through its anus and out its mouth), the gray fox was edible. I guess

it was something about the start of a new season, it was almost ritualistic, without trying to make it so. Some stood by and watched while 4 or 5 of us feasted on the fox. Ursus, a hard-core vegan, was perhaps the most voracious. There was something primal about his eating — like a wild man caged for years eating only bagels and bananas. Ursus tanned the skin and later wore it around his neck like a scarf.

Three months later in midsummer, we found a raccoon. Ursus skinned it and tanned the hide, and roasted it on a fire, then made a delicious stew. He also rendered the fat into oil to use for frying. Raccoon is pretty oily.

Three months later, on fall equinox, we scooped up another gray fox and roasted it over a fire. A week after that, we found a rabbit on the roadside in another large southeastern city and ate rabbit stew with veggies foraged from the urban wilds. Just a few days later, we found a dead pigeon on the side of a city street in a small town. When Ursus called my attention to it, and I saw the look in his eyes, I protested: "Oh no you don't" - it just seemed like too much, and pointless being so small. He grabbed it anyway, wrapping it in newspaper, beneath

the horrified eyes of more than a few passerby. I found this rather embarrassing, but Ursus later reminded me of the basic truth of the situation: "Fuck 'em". A few steps later we found another dead pigeon that was in even better condition than the first one. We took them home and made "pigeon-noodle soup", and by the way pigeons do have a lot of meat on them — and they're really tasty, too.

THIS ZINE CONTAINS A COMPREHENSIVE "HOW TO" MANUAL ON ROADKILL, INCLUDING: SKINNING, CLEANING, STAKING AND STRETCHING THE HIDE, SCRAPING, REMOVING THE FUR, BRAIN TANNING, CLEANING AND DRESSING BIRDS, COOKING METHODS, AND POTENTIAL RISKS OF EATING ROADKILL. IT ALSO HAS SECTIONS ON WILD PLANTS AND MUSHROOMS, EDIBLE INSECTS, AND MORE!

To get a copy of "Feral Forager: A guide to living off nature's bounty in urban, rural and wilderness areas" Send \$3 to Feral Forager, PO BOX 1485, Ashville, NC 28802 or email: wildrootsnc@ziplip.com



Splitting the Sky Tour

January 15, 2003 kicked off the Northwest Speaking Tour for former political prisoner, former American Indian Movement activist, survivor of the Attica massacre, author of the 650 page autobiography *From Attica to Gustafsen Lake*, and long-time revolutionary, John Hill (AKA Dacajeweah - Mohawk for Splitting the Sky). From a background of orphanages and boarding schools, Dacajeweah emerged as a principal leader of the Attica rebellion at the age of nineteen, and later became a major figure in the Native sovereignty movement.

The Break The Chains collective became acquainted with Splitting the Sky late last year, when we were introduced via the internet by a mutual friend. Prior to this we hadn't heard of Splitting the Sky. But after doing our research, we found that he is a longtime revolutionary who *fights to win*. After a number of positive exchanges with him, we decided that we would like to host him for a series of events in Oregon, and later he asked us to arrange a full Northwest speaking tour. Two of the keynote speakers who shared lectures with Splitting the Sky on this tour - former political prisoners of the George Jackson Brigade, Mark Cook & Ed Mead - came together in Seattle 30 years ago for a prisoner-support convention called "Con-vention."

This tour - which covered Seattle, Portland, Eugene, Ashland, and San Francisco - was very successful and members of Break The Chains have written a highly in-depth report on this agitational journey and the issues that were addressed throughout the course of it all, which is available free of cost upon request from **Break The Chains, PO Box 11331, Eugene, OR 97440** e-mail: breakthechains02@yahoo.com

THE NATIVE YOUTH MOVEMENT

A warrior society of the indigenous people's movement, is seeking financial contributions for the printing costs of an NYM magazine. The purpose of the magazine is to educate and inspire Native youth and all indigenous peoples to become part of a larger movement to protect and defend our lands and way of life that is becoming severely threatened. NYM focuses much of its energy on building community self-sufficiency, relearning and protecting traditional ways, as well as direct action and boycott campaigns against destructive industries. **Please make donations payable to:**

NATIVE YOUTH MOVEMENT PO BOX 854, CHASE, BC, CANADA, V0E 1M0.

CASCADIA-SUMMER-ON-THE-HORIZON!

The Cascades are on fire early this year:

There won't be any retold stories of the need for change, or any excuses made for what hasn't happened. None of that matters anymore. Definitions are being changed and overturned daily. What used to be termed freedom of speech has unveiled itself to be super-intelligent thought control. The reality of our enslavement is apparent. The looters from the bloodstained mansion have openly admitted their intent to control our lives, down to the D.N.A. in our blood, that which sustains us. Chances are running out to take control of your own life and nothing more desperate must happen! The only way to do this is to know what you want - and then do it. We've seen that our corporate sponsors have effectively deployed this strategy. Fortunately, we have all of time and the forest on our side. There is just one thing though - all of time and the powers of the forest can only be on our side if they are still flourishing in their own right, striving for their own interests, and existing in a form so untouched that it will never be fully understood.

Some of us have been out to gain some secret knowledge over the past few years. We have learned a lot, we have come a long way. Now is the time to go further. Soon Bush and his co-conspirators across the globe will have destroyed the last remaining sacred places on the planet. They will be destroyed for the final and only time. Some will be crossed with pipeline; others slashed with axes and shipped away to become cereal boxes. The forest has spoken and this will not be allowed to happen. In these last moments the people are rising!

Cascadia Summer is now, it is this summer, and we are all a part of it. Many people have been acting on your behalf for your entire life, but now we just want you to be yourself! We aren't asking for the logging to stop, we're *stopping* it. We aren't asking for the patriarchal culture that fosters this need to change, we are *living our own way*, on our own time. And when we see them marching with their town-machines and their ugly faces, we'll see them turning more quickly than before, if they can even make it out. Once we are no longer living in the extreme of the opposition, and that opposition is unnecessary to define our existence, every possibility is awaiting us. We are the present. We are creating the future in every passing moment. Our fate is within reach and we each must open our hands and grasp it. Logging season starts March 15. See you in the woods...

To stop the madness of logging on public lands and the furthering of the American-imperialist state's scope, call (541)684-8977.

Summer 2003 Green Anarchist Gathering July 10 thru 13, 2003 North Central Pennsylvania

We are currently organizing for a green anarchist gathering this summer which will take place in a Pennsylvania state forest yet to be announced. The location will have normal park facilities as well as areas for the application and practice of wilderness skills. The emphasis of the gathering is two fold: to teach wilderness survival abilities and to provide a contextual and practical basis for green anarchist theory/action.

It seems a vital point for green anarchists to have our own convergence instead of having a few workshops at other gatherings. We are hoping that this environment will be permissive for detailed discussion, debate and exchange of experience. This, however, is not for 'green anarchists only' and we hope that people will take this chance to learn more about wilderness skills, the green anarchist critiques and also develop stronger alliances to further insurrectionary action.

This gathering is for green anarchists and future primitives all over the world to gather and get serious about the direction and actions that we are a part of and prepare for life beyond civilization. We hope that all people who are serious about this will come. For the destruction of civilization and the reconnection to life!

We are currently taking any help we can get. We are in desperate need of funds, equipment, field kitchen collective/s, advertisements, people who can help with skill sharing and workshops, ideas for discussions, organizers, and any other suggestions.

Black and Green PO Box 835 Greensburg, PA 15601
bandgnet@yahoo.com + www.blackandgreen.org/gath.html

Gathering of Anti-Civilization People May 1-4, Barcelona, Spain

Free and Wild anarchists will be gathering to discuss the complete and Total destruction of our enemy, *Civilization*. This gathering has the potential to serve as an invaluable networking hub for anyone involved in the anti-civilization movement, and we urge our north american readers to *try their best* to get there, despite the geographical challenges related to its location.

contact: www.gratisweb/maigdeu

Break The Chains #14

This issue - our largest and best yet - contains new articles by and about West Coast political prisoners Jeff "Free" Luers, Rob "Los Ricos" Thaxton, Matt "Rampage" Lamont, the Children of the River (Native and anarchist prisoners fighting racism and brutality from within Oregon's worst prisons), and anti-imperialist POW Richard Williams, as well as updates about North American political prisoners of all stripes, reports on anti-authoritarian, anti-capitalist, and anti-prisons activities on the West Coast, state repression news, a movement obituary, a centerfold about women in prison, and much more!

This issue is available for \$5 postage paid from Break The Chains PO Box 11331, Eugene, OR 97440. email: breakthechains02@yahoo.com Visit our website (now regularly updated) at: www.breakthechains.net

All proceeds from the sale of our newsletter will go to covering the costs of the upcoming prison abolition/prisoner-support/anti-repression conference in Eugene, OR, scheduled for the weekend of August 8-11, 2003. Contact Break The Chains for more info.

Anarchy Radio
with **John Zerzan**
KWVA 88.1 Fm in Eugene
Sundays @ 11:00pm
CALL (541)346-0645
YOU CAN LISTEN ON-LINE:
www.CASCADIARADIO.ORG

FOCUS Tactics?

Decide what you want to destroy/abolish/subvert/accomplish.
Find people with similar interests, who you can work with.
Take all necessary security precautions.
Attack!

Just a few contacts:

The Black and Green Network
blackandgreen.org

Earth Liberation Front Press Office
earthliberationfront.com

Asian Revolutionary Movement
asianrevolutionarymovement.org

Venemous Butterfly Publications
PO Box 31098
Los Angeles, CA 90031

Green Anarchist
BCM 1715
London WC1N 3XX, UK

Re-Pressed Distro
c/o CRC 16 Sholebroke ave
Leeds, LS7 3hb, England
repressed@mail.com

A-NEWS
PO Box 30557
Athens 10033 Greece

Helios E. M
PO BOX 709
CP 11402 - Jerez de la Fra.
Cadiz, Spain

Terra Selvaggio (Silvestre)
via del Coure no. 1
56100 Pisa, Italia

Don't forget to get your copy of Disorderly Conduct #6

108-pages of incendiary green-insurrectionary fun,
brought to you by the "Bring On the Ruckus" Society!
eae@efn.org

Send \$5 to P.O. Box 11331, Eugene, OR 97440

Bite Back

Bite Back is an activist association and magazine dedicated to the advocacy of those caught or currently in the underground for animal liberation and the sabotage tactics they employ. **Bite Back** strives to create a culture of support for the Animal Liberation Front and direct action by means of prisoner support work, news reporting and the production of inspirational stories, photos and ALF-bolstering merchandise. Formed in 2002 to feed an animal rights movement hungry for ALF advocacy, **Bite Back** is an all volunteer, grassroots project, and its publications are free to everyone.

visit: www.directaction.info

email: biteback@directaction.info

write to: **Bite Back 222 Lakeview Ave, Ste. 160-231 West Palm Beach, FL 33401.**

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS NETWORK NEWSLETTER #2

The Break The Chains collective is excited to announce that we will be producing issue #2 of the Anarchist Black Cross Network newsletter. We are now accepting submissions for the newsletter from anti-authoritarian and anti-capitalist prisoners and prison activists - so send us your contributions of poetry, artwork, and articles analyzing the Prison Industrial Complex, how prison relates to and reinforces other forms of oppression (racism, gender oppression, etc.), articles on prisoner-support and prisoner-resistance, critiques of contemporary movement trends, and suggestions for how anarchist prisoner-aid groups such as the ABCN can be more effective at supporting prisoners and building a movement to abolish prisons and the deranged society that continues to build them. We are especially interested in hearing from politically conscious and active women prisoners, whose voices are all too often under-represented in the prisoner-solidarity movement.

**Break The Chains PO Box 11331,
Eugene, OR 97440.**

breakthechains02@yahoo.com

Deadline for submissions is April 7th

EUGENE COPWATCH

watching them as they're watching you

Because of the drastic upsurge in militarized police activities and acts of repression against communities and neighborhoods in the Eugene area, especially against people who are economically disenfranchised or who are racially, ethnically, or politically marginalized, Eugene Copwatch is reorganizing to provide an effective means of documenting and responding to police violence.

We support and encourage the formation of other autonomous copwatchers within the Eugene area. We want as much autonomous and decentralized resistance to police violence as possible. With the current expansion of law enforcement power and abuse we believe that everyone needs to be a copwatcher.

For additional information: 541-343-8548

1430 Willamette #506, Eugene, Oregon 97401

WWW.EUGENECOPWATCH.ORG

EUGENECOPWATCH@YAHOO.COM

Odds and Ends

* We apologize for any e-mail fuck-ups since our last issue. We have been experiencing some technical difficulties lately, which we hope are now better. If you have sent us any articles, letters, feedback, questions, or orders through cyber-means in the past three months, and have not yet heard from us, please drop us another line. While our e-mail at: greenanarchy@tao.ca should be functioning for some time, we have switched our primary e-mail to: collective@greenanarchy.org

* For various reasons, we are considering changing our name to:

"- fill in the blank -"

A journal of Green Anarchy

This is just a small possibility, so tell us what you think. If you have any ideas or suggestions along these lines, let us know. If some one offers us the perfect name, they will receive a lifetime subscription.

* We are also debating the change to a magazine format. We have lots of research yet to do so we may weigh the benefits and drawbacks. It would definitely cost us more money, which would cost our readers more, and reduce the number we could give away, BUT it would make it easier to be carried by distributors who could get it places who won't carry us in newspaper format. This possible change would also make GA a more durable and lasting piece of material. So let us know any opinions or ideas you have.

* We are currently seeking possible short and long term editors to be a part of a focused and dedicated collective of insurrectionary green anarchist/anarcho-primitivist propagandists. Scenesters need not apply.

Thanks to everyone who has helped make this project possible.

Our deadline for the Summer issue is May 12th.

The GREEN ANARCHY DISTRIBUTION CENTER

How to order:

-Please send well concealed cash and checks only (please do not send loose change.)

-Checks can be made out to "Green Anarchy" and mailed to POB 11331, Eugene, OR 97440.

-We try to fill orders quickly, but we're very busy and delays may occur. Please be patient.

-Put "Attn: Mail Order" on the envelope to help us fill the order faster.
-International orders can take longer because we prefer not to ship air mail as it is quite expensive.

Thanks, *GA*

Pamphlets:

Against Prisons Catherine Baker \$1

A concise and accessible critique of prison, law, and the "justice" system from this French radical.

A Map Chellis Glendinning \$3

The contents of a speech delivered by Chellis at the Annual E.F. Schumacher Society Conference.

Anarchism: The Feminist Connection Peggy Kornegger \$2

An intro to the history and ideas behind anarcho-feminism.

Anarchists Are Going To Eat Your Children \$2

A great pamphlet about the "Myths, misinformation, and misunderstanding about anarchism and the Eugene community."

Anarchist Survival Guide For Understanding Gestapo Swine Interrogation Mind Games Harold Thompson \$1

Fairly self explanatory.

Anti-Mass: Methods Of Organization For Collectives \$1

Arguments against mass organization and in favor of more autonomous activism.

Assholes, Politicians, Economists & Cops: A Billion Reasons To Oppose "Globalization" And The Political And Economic Systems Behind it (Spartacus Books) \$5

The title says it all.

Back From Hell: Black Power And Treason To Whiteness Inside Prison Walls Lorenzo K. Ervin \$1

One man's account of resisting racism & white supremacy from within prison walls.

Bring The War Home: vol. 1 Forgotten Heroes; The Black Liberation Army And The Weather Underground. Anarchist Action Collective \$2

Brief overview of two armed groups within the belly of the beast.

COINTELPRO: The Danger We Face \$2

Basic information about the history and nature of the COINTELPRO.

Colonization Is Always War Zig Zag \$2

Modern resistance to the oppressive forces of colonialism.

Consent Or Coercion Ed Stamm \$2

An accessible introduction to anarchism.

Control Unit Prisons Frank J. Atwood/ABC groups \$3

Essays about torture, isolation, and slavery in modern prisons.

Disgust Of Daily Life Kevin Tucker \$2

A creative piece furthering the critique of civilization and its totality.

Earth Liberation Front: Frequently Asked Questions ELF Press Office \$3

What is the ELF? Why did they burn down Vail? All this and many more questions are answered in this new pamphlet about the ELF.

Enemy Of The State: An Interview With John Zerzan by Derrick Jensen \$1

Grand Juries: Tools Of Political Repression Craig Rosebraugh \$1

Analysis of the oppressive nature of grand juries by someone who's been through them.

Green Anarchism: Origins And Influences Paul Rogers \$2

A good introduction to the different ideas that constitute "green anarchism".

If an Agent Knocks Anonymous \$1

All you need to know about visits by the feds. A must read.

Industrial Domestication: Industry As The Origins Of Modern Domination Leopold Roc \$1

This essay shows why the struggle for workers' autonomy must be a struggle to destroy industrialism.

Industrial Society & It's Future: The Unabomber's Manifesto Unabomber \$2

An in depth manifesto against industrialism.

Lessons Of Easter Island Clive Ponting \$1

Taken from his amazing book *A Green History of the World*.



Let's Get Free! \$5 (half going directly to Free) 28-page zine about Jeff "Free" Luers, earth defender, anarchist, and political prisoner currently serving almost 23 years for politically-motivated arson charges. Contains writings, poetry, and artwork by Free, as well as other writings about this eco-warrior.

Listening To The Land: An Interview With Ward Churchill by Derrick Jensen \$1

This interview with American Indian Movement activist Ward Churchill was reprinted from one of Derrick's books, *Listening To The Land: Conversations About Nature, Culture and Eros*.

Native Resistance To Canada Various native solidarity groups \$2

An overview of modern Native struggles against colonialism.

Neo-Luddites & Lessons From The Luddites Kirkpatrick Sale \$2

Two essays reprinted from his book *Rebels Against The Future*. A very convincing condemnation of industrial civilization.

Non-Violence & Its Violent Consequences William Meyers \$2

Pacifist absurdity debunked.

Our Enemy, Civilization \$2

Essays against civilization, industrialism, and modernity.

Primitivist Primer John Moore \$1

An interesting and very accessible introduction to the movement against civilization.

Prison Abolition Yves Borque \$1

A unique critique of the prison system.

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